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DHANURVEDA MANTRAS AND RITUALS FROM ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

K.G. Sheshadri*

Introduction

From the Vedic times, *Dhanurveda* was considered to be the *Upaveda* and dealt with description of weapons, military techniques and their usage and so on. The *Dhanurveda* is the *Upaveda* attached to the *Yajurveda*. However, sufficient mythology exists as to the origin of *Dhanurveda*. With all these traditions, there exist several *Dhanurveda* treatises attributed to the Gods or Sages. Even as early as the *Ṛgveda*[1] *(RV) several* weapons were known and used in battles. The *Vajra* is a mythical weapon made originally for destruction of demon Vṛtra. Indra's *Vajra* was originally made of stone and then from the bones of Sage Dadhīci before it finally assumed the shape in metal [RV 1.133.2]. RV [6.75.11] states that arrows were feathered. The *Cakra* is named as weapon of Indra [RV. 8.96.9]. Likewise the RV [1.168.3] speaks *Kṛti* to be a weapon of *Maruts*. The *ṛṣṭi* is also spoken as a weapon held by the *Maruts* RV [1.31.7], RV [1.64.4]. The lance (also known as *sṛka)* is a weapon of *Indra* RV [1.32.12]. The battle axe *[Paraśu or kuliśa]* is mentioned in RV [(1.127.3), (7.104.21)]. The *Vajra* is said to be fashioned by *Tvaṣṭā*.

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1. Arya, Ravi Prakash, Joshi, K. L., *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* (RV), with English translation according to H. H. Wilson and Sāyaṇācārya Bhāṣya, Vols. I-IV, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 2005

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Atharvaveda Saṁhitā[2] AV [5.18.8] speaks of poisoned arrows. The club *(Dṛughaṇa)* is mentioned in AV [7.28.1]. Like-wise several weapons are mentioned in the Epics, *Purāṇas* and other Post-Vedic texts. Although the description of these weapons is found in various literature, scholars have not attempted to document the *mantras* and rituals for these weapons that formed part of the Dhanurvedic tradition. The present paper is an attempt in this direction to glean such rites, *mantras* from various ancient texts that may serve as a compendium for Dhanurvedic *Mantra* portions.

Dhanurveda Mantras and Rituals in Vedic Texts

RV [1.18.1] states that sage Hiraṇyastūpa saw a hymn and muttere it to drive back enemies. Vasiṣtha infuses Indra with valour by loud chants of *Śakvarī* [RV 7.33.4][3]. RV [X.96.3] gives a *mantra* for *Hiraṇyāstra* [Indra's *Vajra]* -

सो अस्य वज्रो हरितो य आयसो हरिर्णिकामो हरिरागभस्त्योः द्युम्नी सुशिप्रो हरिमन्युसायक इन्द्रे नि रूपाहरिता मिमिक्षिरे ।।

"His is the metallic thunderbolt, golden and gold colored, very dear and in his yellow arms. Effulgent with strong teeth, destroying with its golden rage. In Indra are all Golden forms" The *Cakrāstra mantra* for the discus is stated as in RV [2.11.20).

अवर्तयत् सूर्यो न चक्रं भिनद् क्रमिन्द्रो अङ्गिरस्वान् ।

"Indra sent forth his *Cakra* like the Sun and killed Vala when aided by *Aṅgirasa seers".* The *Śaktis* used by warriors is charmed by the *Aśvinī Śakti Astra mantra* [RV. 7.67.5, RV 7.55.7] also mentions a weapon hymn to induce sleep among enemies.

सहस्रशृङ्गो वृषभो यः समुद्रादुदाचरत् तेना सहस्येना वयं नि जनान् स्वापयामसि ।।

"The thousand horned bull who arises from the ocean, we make all people sleep by him the strong and powerful one".

The arrow is charmed by means of the *mantra* as in RV [6.75.16]

अवसृष्टा परा पत शरव्ये ब्रह्मसंशिते । गच्छामित्रान्प्र पद्यस्व मामीषां कं चनोच्छिषः ।।

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2. K. L. Joshi, *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* (AV) *with Sanskrit text, English translation according to W. D. Whitney* and Sāyaṇācārya Bhāṣya, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 2004. Also Kashyap, R. L., *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* (AV) with text and translation, Sri Aurobindo Kapali Shastry Institute of Vedic Culture, Vols. I-III, 2012.

3. Dange, Dr. S. A., "Aspects of war from Rigveda", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 44, 1966, pp.125-138

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"Arrow whetted by charms, fly when discharged go; alight amongst the adversaries, spare not one of the enemy."

Several hymns also occur in the texts of the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā* and *Atharvaveda Samhitā*. The *'Yajurvidhāna Sūtra' of* Kātyāyana[4], a *Vidhāna Sūtra* manual of *Yajurveda* deals on some special *Dhanurveda mantras*. It mentions about *Raṇadīkṣā* stating that one should charm the weapons with *mantras*. One must spread rice grains and on top of it arrange a sacrificial altar and perform *yajña* with the *Kṣatriya* (king) seated on Kuśa grass. Initially one must perform *Yajña* with sacrificial twigs, then with ghee 1000 times and finally charm the bows with *mantras* and hand it over to the king. Before the war begins, one must offer ghee in the sacrificial fire 1000 times. Then chanting a hymn as stated in [27.49] one must give the charmed Armour to the king.

ॐ मर्म्माणि ते वर्म्मणा च्छादयामि सोमस्त्वा राजाऽमृतेनानुव स्ताम् । उरोर्वरीयो वरुणस्ते कृणोतु जयन्तत्वाऽनुदेवा मदन्तु ।।

The bow and string are charmed with the *mantra [29.39]*-

ॐ धनवना गा धन्वना जिञ्जयेम धन्वना तीव्राः समदो जयेम । धनुः शत्रोरपकामङ्कृणोति धन्वना सर्वाः प्रदिशो जयेम ।।

The bowstring is to be made moist and held stout by the *mantra* [29.40]. After mounting the chariot, the king should beat the horse with a *mantra* [29.50]. Then he should pick up the arrows with the *mantra* [29.51]. The text also contains *mantras* to conjoin the charioter with chariot [17.48] and charming the horse with the hymn as in [29.13]. The king must then stretch the bowstring right upto his ear and twang the bow making a sound by this, he charms the bowstring. The *'Yajurvidhāna Sūtra'* text then describes about charming the crown [29.48], joining the horses to the chariot and harnessing them with the *mantra* [23.5] and charming the horses and chariot with several *mantras* [17.33-49]. By performing this *Raṇadīkṣā,* the king becomes victorious.

There exists another list of *mantras* cited by the *'Yajurvidhāna'* text for victory in the army[5]. These include the following *mantra* to be chanted after entering the army of enemy in the night so that one becomes victorious [5.37] and also several hymns for charming of arrows [29.48-49].

The *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*[6] [16.22] speaks of stringing of the bow, placing of the arrow, bending of the bow, shooting of the shaft. In the famous *Rudra Praśna,* of the *Taittirīya*

4. Sharma, Ramesh Chandra Dash, *Yajurvidhāna Sūtra of* Kātyāyana with Sādhana commentary, Manyata Prakashan, New Delhi, 2004.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Griffith, Ralph T. H., *Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitā with English Translation,* Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1990.

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Saṁhitā[7] [IV.5.1] there exist prayers to Lord Rudra to shower grace and make one happy by his bow, arrow and quiver.

या त इषुः शिवतमा शिवं बभूव ते धनुः । शिवा शरव्या या तव तया नो रुद्र मृडय ।।

In [IV.5.3] it states

नम इषुमद्भ्यो धन्वाविभ्यश्च वो नमो नम आतन्वानेभ्यः प्रतिदधानेभ्यश्च वो नमो नम आयच्छद्भ्यो विसृजद्भ्यश्च वो नमो नमोऽस्यद्भ्यो विद्भ्यश्च वो नमो ।

'Prostrations to you, the holder of bows and arrows, to you who strings the bow and releases the arrows, to you who stretches the bow and sends arrows again, to you who makes arrows reach the targets.'

This is a hymn used by warriors to charm bows and arrow and offer prostrations to Lord Rudra. The text also portrays that warriors could praise the Lord Rudra as one with sharp arrows and myriad weapons, trident and the auspicious bow [IV.5. 7]. Also, they praise him as holder of a 100 bows or with a reputed army.

The *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* is another rich treasure for *mantras* on *Dhanurveda* that are found in various *mantras* spread all over the *Kāṇḍas* of the text. The *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* AV [1.2] has many battle charms. AV [3.1.1-5] is a hymn invoking Agni, Maruts, Indra and other Gods to confound the army of foes.

Sāyaṇācārya states that an army which chants the hymn AV [6.65.1-2] will get victory.

अव मन्युरव आयता अव बाहू मनोयुजा पराशर त्वं तेषा पराञ्चं शुष्मम् अर्दय अध नो रयिमाकृधि ।। निर्हस्तेभ्यो नैर्हस्तं यं देवाः शरुम् अस्य थ वृश्चामि शत्रूणां बाहून् आनेन हविषा अहम् ।।

"Let the Fury come down, let the weapon be down, let arms yoked to the mind be down. 0' Parāśara, do you drive far away the vehemence of foe then get us riches ? 0' Gods! whatever weapons you throw at those without weapons with same strategy *(haviṣā),* I will cut off the foes".

In AV [6.66.1] there is a hymn to make enemies weaponless[8]. "May the foes who want to assail us become weaponless. 0' Indra with your great blow, smite them, who are ready to fight us with their army. Let their evil leader *(Aghahara)* run away."

AV [5.6.9] also is a hymn to make enemies weaponless. The *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* also offers other victory rites such as AV [3.2.6] and AV [8.8.20].

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7. Kashyap, R. L., *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, Sri Aurobindo Kapali Shastry Institute of Vedic Culture, Bangalore, Vols. I-III, 2011

8. Kashyap, R. L., *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* (AV) with text and translation, Sri Aurobindo Kapali Shastry Institute of Vedic culture, Bangalore, Vols. I-III, 2012.

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To destroy the army of enemies, the *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* [8.8.14-15] has a spell invoking the bipeds, quadrupeds, forest trees, those belonging to them, herbs, growth of earth, the Gandharvas, Apsaras, serpents, Gods, good persons and forefathers.

वनस्पतीन् वान्स्पत्यान् ओषधीरुत वीरुधः द्विपात् चतुष्पात् इष्णामि यथा सेनाममूं हनन् ।
गन्धर्वाप्सरसः सर्पान् देवान् पुण्यजनान् पितॄन् । दृष्टानदृष्टान् इष्णामि यथा सेनाममूं हनन् ।।

The *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* also has several hymns seeking protection from arrows AV [6.90.1-3]. There also exist hymns to remove the ill effects of poisoned arrows in warfare as in AV [4.6.4] and AV [4.6.6].

अरसस्त इषो शल्यो अथो ते अरसं विषम् । उतारसस्य वृक्षस्य धनुष्टे अरसा अरसम् ।। - AV [4.6.6].

" 0' arrow your tip is sapless, your poison is sapless. 0' sapless one, bow made of a sapless tree is also sapless."

The *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* AV [5.20.1-12] and AV [5.21.1-12] has a hymn to the celestial war drum to kill enemies. Likewise there exist hymns AV [5.7] to AV [5.10] seeking protection from hostile beings and battles. AV (IX.9) also invokes two battle demons Arbudi and Nyarbudi, the companions of Indra.

The *Kauśika Sūtra*[9] (14.7) has a victory rite to make enemies handless. The *Kauśika Sūtra* [28.1 ff] while speaking about AV [4.6.4-6], also mentions charms to counteract ill effects of poisoned arrows in warfare. The poison is charmed away from all points of the arrow, from the mountain where the poisonous plant grows, by extension from weapons of the enemy. The hymn is to be recited by the patient (who is struck by a poisoned arrow) in a low voice and make obeisance to Takṣaka sipping water and also sprinkling (the wounded portion) with it. The same procedure may be carried out with water containing a ground mixture of the branch of *(kṛmukha)* tree from which the bow is made.

The *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*[10], a text dealing elaborately on *Atharvan* rites under the section of *Āsurīkalpa* states that if an enemy is to be killed, one must make the idol of the enemy using black mustard, then cut it into pieces and put them in the sacrificial fire burnt with *Arka* twigs. [XXXV.1.5-9]. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*[11] [III.12] mentions as to how the royal priest *(Purohita)* stands to the west of the King's chariot repeating *mantras,* recites certain charmed *mantras* on horses, then charms the bow and quiver, the leather guards, and hands

9. Bloomfield, M., *Kauśika Sūtra of Atharvaveda* with commentaries of Darila and Keśava, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1972
10. Bolling, George Mehville., Negelein, Julius Von., 'The *Pariśiṣṭas* of the *Atharvaveda,*' Chaukhambha Orientalia Publications, Varanasi, 2008.
11. Pathak Jamana, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* with commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, Kashi, 2011

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them over to the king. He then accompanies the king to battle, charms the drums while the king touches it and shoots the arrow.

Dhanurveda Mantras and Rituals in Epic and Puranic Texts

Sage Vālmīki's immortal epic, *the Rāmāyaṇa*[12] mentions several celestial weapons or *Astras*. In the *Bālakāṇḍa* [*Sarga* 27, 4-19], sage Viśvāmitra imparts the knowledge of more than 44 weapons like *Brahmāstra, Brahmaśiras, Aisīka* (a trident), *Modaki and Śikhari* (two maces), several types of discus like *Daṇḍacakra, Dharmacakra, Viṣṇucakra;* divine -weapons like *Agneyāstra, Vāyavyāstra, Nārāyaṇāstra, Krauñcāstra, Gandharvāstra, Mohanāstra, Māyāstra*. Elsewhere other weapons like *Sammohanāstra, Śakti, Nārāca, Nāgāstra Mūrchāstra, Śailāstra, Saurāstra, Śataghnī* (a weapon by which hundreds of men were killed), *Nārāca* (blazing arrows made of iron and thrown like rockets), *Nāgāstras* (serpent missiles), *Murchāstra* (to create unconsciousness), *Śailāstra* (to throw rocks), *Saurāstra* (weapon from which burning balls of fire fell) are mentioned. Other types of weapons and equipment mentioned in the text have been dealt in literature[13]. Sage Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*[14] is no less in its description of military weapons and equipment. *Gandharvāstra* used by Abhimanyu, *Sammohanāstra* by Arjuna, *Nārāyaṇāstra* by Aśvatthāmā, *Vaiṣṇavāstra* by Karṇa and so on.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[15] also mentions these previous weapons and in addition highlights the *Halāyudha* (plough) of Balarāma, *Sudarśana Cakra of* Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The battle description of Bāṇāsura with Kṛṣṇa highlights the use of special weapons like *Śivajvarāstra* (producing excessive heat) and *Nārayaṇajvarāstra* (producing excessive cold). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* describes the *Vimāna of* Śālva known as *Saubhapura* and its manouvres also. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[16] mentions about bows [*Khaṇḍa* II, *Ch.* 16-17] and different kinds of swords. The *Agni Purāṇa*[17] [Ch. 249.2] mentions that a battle is usually fought with one of 5 classes of weapons such as *Yaniramukta* (those projected by a machine), *Pāṇimukta* (thrown by hand), *Muktasandhārita* (thrown by drawing back), *Amukta* (that are not thrown and

12. Mudholakara, Srinivasa Katti (ed.), *Śrīmad Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam* with commentaries- *Tilaka* of Rāma, Rāmāyaṇa Śiromaṇi of Śivasahāya and *Bhūṣaṇa* of Govindarāja, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 1991

13. Sheshadri, K. G., 'Manufacture and Description of Military weapons and equipment in Ancient Indian texts", *Proceedings of National Seminar on Bharatiya Heritage in Engineering and Technology* (Shilpa Shastram) held in May 2006 , IISC, Bangalore, pp. 284-288

14. *Śrīman Mahābhārata* with commentary of *Caturdhara Nīlakaṇṭa ṭīkā, Nāmānukramaṇikā* and notes by Mishra Mandan, Vols. I-IX, Nag Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, numbers in *ślokas* indicate the *Parva, Adhyāya, śloka*.

15. Shastri, Acharya Jagadishlal, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, with commentary of Śrīdhara Svāmin, Vol. I-II, Motilal Banarasidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1988.

16. Shah, Priyabala., "*Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa*", Vols. I-III, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2002.

17. Joshi, K. L. (Ed.) Dutt, M. N. (translation), *Agni Purāṇa* - Text with translation, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2001.

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retained in hand), *Bāhuyuddha* (the hands themselves as in wrestling). The *Agni Purāṇa* mentions certain war rites not found in other *Purāṇas.* It mentions that a king should perform *Raṇadīkṣā,* before going to a war [236]. On the first day, Lord Hari, Śambhu, Vināyaka should be worshipped with the *Dikpālas.* On third day the Rudras to be worshipped, on the fourth day - the *Navagrahas,* the Aśvinīdevas on fifth day along with worship of Gods residing along road by which the march would start, deities or rivers, streams, the *Bhūtas,* Lord Vāsudeva, Goddess Bhadrakālī with the *mantra.* On the sixth day, king should perform rites of ablution worshipping Lord Trivikrama. With the priest having conferred success, the king should recite the *Mantra 'dhanurnā gā'*and lift his bow. There after moving with his armed hosts amidst war music. The horses and elephants should be bathed and Lord Narasiṁha should be worshipped two days before commencement of actual hostilities. The royal insignias like Umbrella and others should also be worshipped.

The *Agni Purāṇa* [321] also speaks about the ceremony *Aghorāstrādiśāntikalpaḥ.* It consists of worshipping the weapons sacred to Lord Śiva at the centre, while weapons such as *Vajra* to be worshipped in different directions of the *Maṇḍala.* The 5 discuses *(cakras)* and ten arms of the God should be worshipped with a view to ensure success in battle.

Dhanurveda Astra Manuscripts - A Study

The several weapons spoken in the Vedic Texts, Epics and Purāṇas have associated charms that allow the person to apply them against enemies. Most of the *mantras* that governed these celestial weapons were kept secret from ancient times and imparted by the adept teachers (sages) to well skilled students lest these charms fell into wrong hands. However, since the deity that governed the weapon had to also give the charm to the person who asked for it, both the mortals, *Devas, Gandharvas, Nāgas, Piśācas, Bhūtas, Daityas, Asuras* were all adept in the secret lore. With terrible *Deva-Asura* conflicts threatening to destabilize cosmic structure, the celestial weapons were kept secret and until the skilled warrior could worship, invoke and seek grace of these celestial weapons, they would produce no effect. Some of the charms originated from Tantric rituals adept to kill enemies and consisted of *Bīja mantras.*

There exist several such manuscripts consisting of *Bīja mantras* for various celestial weapons in the vast Manuscript repositories. A brief description of these manuscripts classified based on the celestial weapon with mention of the Manuscript repository, Manuscript Accession number, Folios and details are as given. The details of the manuscript size, lines and other details have been omitted for want of space in the current article.

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[A] *Brahmāstra-*

1. *Brahmāstrapaddhati*[18]-Mss. No. 85703, Fols. 1 -13
2. *Brahmāstraprayogam*[19]-Mss. No. 86035, Fols. 1 -2
3. *Brahmāstravidvāpūjakrama*[20]-Mss No. 86677, Fols. 1-3, from *Devī Rahasya* in form of *Nārada-Nārāyaṇa saṁvāda.*
4. *Bagalā Brahmāstraṁ*[21]-Mss. No. 87608, 1 Fol., Complete (C).
5. *Brahmāstrakalpa*[22]-Mss. No. P. 2590/3, *Nāgarī*, Fols. 6 -16, C
6. *Brahmāstraprayoga Mahāmantra*[23]-Mss. No. P. 3591/27, *Grantha*, 1 Fol., C
7. *Brahmāstramantravidhi*[24]- Mss. P. *4925/* 89, *Grantha*, 1 Fol., C.
8. *Brahmāstramantra*[25] - Mss. No. B 7079, 4 *Granthas*, IC, *Devanagarī*
9. *Brahmāstraprayoga*[26]- Mss. No. 1135 (G), *Devanāgarī*, Complete
10. *Brahmāstramantravidhi*[27]- Mss. No. 202(c), 1 Fol., C.

[B] *Āgneyāstra-*

1. *Agnimukhādighuṭikānirmāṇavidhi*[28] - Mss. No. L. No. 11-1/548, Sl. No. 9680, *Devanāgarī*, Two Fols., C.
2. *Agneyāstranirmāṇavidhi*[29] - Mss. No. *C.3408/7, Nāgarī*,1 Fol., C., Also Mss. No. P4526/32, Fols. 2-3, C.
3. *Āgneyāstranirmāṇavidhi*[30]- Mss. No. 1223, 15 Fols, *Devanāgarī*,Complete,

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18. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University*, Vol. VI, Pt. 2, Tantra manuscripts, 1991.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Rajagopalachar, K., *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts*, Vol. XVI, Tantra shastra, Pt I. (A to Ba.)., Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, 1990.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Shastry, K. S. Subrarmanya., *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Vol. 20, *Mantra* Shastra, *1952.*
26. Patkar, M. M, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute*, Vol. 3, Jammu, 1984
27. *Catalogue of Tigalari Manuscripts'*, K. Gonda Jois, Keladi Museum and Historical Research Bureau,1997
28. Joshi, Lakshman Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* [Prajna Pathashala Mandala Collection] Pl. 2, M.S. Sathe, Satara district
29. Rajagopalachar, K., *Op.cit*
30. Patkar, M. M., *Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute*, Vol.3, Jammu, 1984

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[C] ***Pāsupatāstra*** -

1. *Paśupatāstra Mantra*[31] - Mss. No. 87306, 4 fols, IC.
2. *Mahāpāśupatāstram*[32] - Mss. No. 87434, Fol. 1- 9, C.
3. *Pāśupatāstravidhi*[33]- Mss. No. P4868/29, Telugu, C, Fol. 1 - 3,
4. *Pāśupatāstram*[34]- Mss. No, P3972/ 13, Telugu, Fols. 168 -171, C.
5. *Pāśupatāstra Mantra*[35] - Mss. No. B. No. 7049, *Devanāgarī, 6 granthas,* C.

[D] ***Āñjaneyāstra*** -

1. *Āñjaneyāstramantra*[36] - Mss. No. 85586, Fols. 1-2,
2. *Āñjaneyāstravidhi*[37] - Mss. No. P. 4461/105, Telugu, Fols. 110 - 111, C.
3. *Āñjaneyāstra*[38] - Mss. No. 1266, *Devanāgarī,* C,

[E] ***Nārāyaṇāstra*** -

1. *Nārīyaṇāstramantra Prayoga*[39] - Mss. No. 85502, Fol. 1-7, From *Kālavidyota Saṁhitā*
2. *Nārīyaṇāstravidyā* from *Rudrayāmāla*[40] - Mss. No. L. No. 9-3/487, Sl. No. 8547, DS, 8 Fols. C.
3. *Nārāyaṇāstra*[41]- Mss. No. 16339, *Devanāgarī,* 4 fols, C, From *Mantra Rahasya.*
4. *Nārāyaṇāstravidyā*[42] - Mss. No. 1266 [e], *Devanāgarī,* From *Rudrayāmāla*

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31. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University,* Vol. 6, Pt. 2, Tantra manuscripts, 1991.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Rajagopalachar, K., *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Shastry, K. S. Subrarnanya., *Ibid.*
36. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University,* Vol. VI, Pt. 2, Tantra Mss., 1991.
37. Rajagopalachar, K., *Ibid.*
38. Patkar, M. M., *Ibid.*
39. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University,* Vol. VI, Pt. Tantra Mss., 1991.
40. Joshi, Lakshman Shastri., *Ibid.*
41. Mishra, Umesh., *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Ganganath Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad, Vol. I, Pt. 2, 1967.
42. Patkar, M. M., *Ibid.*

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[F] Some Special *Astras*-

1. *Sudarśanāstra*[43]- Mss. No. 85759,2 Fols, C.
2. *Nīlakaṇṭhāstram*[44] - Mss. No. 87539, Fols. 1-12, also. Mss. No. 87704, Fols. 1-14, C.
3. *Jalāstravidyānirūpaṇam*[45] - Mss. No, P 9944/24, *Nāgarī,* 1 fol (58th), C.
4. *Nṛsiṁhāstra*[46] - Mss. No.1266 (d), *Devanāgarī* C.
5. *Vāyavyāstramantraprayoga*[47] - Mss. No. P. 5176/18, *Nāgarī,* Fol. 96 -100, IC.

[G] *Other Astra Manuscripts*

1. *Āyudhalakṣaṇa*[48] - Mss. No. L. No.II-6/578, Sl. No. 10692, DS, 6 Fols., IC.
2. *Sānkhāyaṇa Tantra*[49] - Mss. No. 1032/1891-95, 53 fols; *Devanāgarī,* As *Śiva Kumāra saṁvāda,* on acquiring supernatural powers celestial weapons, 30 chapters. Also several manuscripts of 1884-87 and 1899-1915.
3. *Āyudhamantra*[50] - Mss. No. 21/265, In *Dharma section.*

Mantras and Rituals in Certain Dhanurvedic Texts

Several *Dhanurveda* manuscripts exist of which some have been published while others lie in various manuscript repositories spread all over India and also in manuscript collections of various libraries in the world. Other than these, several manuscript treatises have been lost over a period of time that a treasure of knowledge is lost. However, the existing manuscripts and published treatises reveal that there existed *Dhanurveda mantras* that have been dealt below.

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43. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in Sampurnanand Sanskrit University,* Vol. VII. Pt. 2, Tantra manuscripts, 1991.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Rajagopalachar, K., *Ibid.*
46. Patkar, M. M., *Ibid.*
47. Rajagopalachar, K., *Ibid.*
48. Joshi, Lakshman Shastri., *Ibid.*
49. *Descriptive Catalogue of Govt. collection of Manuscripts,* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, Pt.2, Tantra, 1976.
50. Khare, G. H., *Handwritten List of Manuscripts in Bharatiya Itihas Samshodhana Mandala (BISM),* Series No. 92, 1960.

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Of these, the *Vasiṣtha Dhanurveda Saṁhitā*[51] states that a teacher can offer the bow to his disciple only after purifying it with hymns mentioned in *Dhanurveda śāstra* and with hymns *'Kaṇḍāt Kaṇḍāt'* [RV.13.20] as given in text [III.23]. Under the section of *Astra Mantra Saṁskāra*, the text states that the weapons have to be purified by hymns. To apply *Brahmāstra*, the archer should utter a hundred thousand million times the *Sāvitrī Mantra* [as in RV. 3.62.10] in a reverse manner and purify the arrow before showering it on enemies. [83-84]. Similar *mantras* are given for the weapons like *Brahmadaṇḍa, Brahmaśiras, Pāśupatāstra, Vāyavyāstra Narasiṁhāstra* and *Āgneyāstra*. The *"Yuddhamantraṁ"*[52] or *Astravidyā*, a manuscript D.280 in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras also gives some *mantras* used in *Dhanurveda*. It speaks of *Śrī Paraśurāma Mantra* and *Dhyāna* for victory in wars.

The *Vīracintāmaṇi Dhanurveda*[53] [Mss. No.54 of 1886 - 92] belonging to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute speaks of a rite before going to war. One must first bathe, adorn good clothes and then worship Ganeśa, Devī, Kṣetrapāla, 10 directions and the weapons with *mantra* -

शूलेन पाहि नो देवि पाहि खड्गेन चाम्बिके । घण्टास्वनेन न पाहि चापज्यानिस्वनेन च ।।

Then pleasing the *Senāpati*, one must climb the elephants and adorn them with new clothes. Then asking the charioteer to mount the chariot, one must keep all the bows and 32 weapons with 400 arrows in quivers. Then remembering the various names of the warrior Arjuna, one should go for war.

Another *Dhanurveda* manuscript titled *"Kodaṇḍa Śāstra* of Dilīpabhūbhṛt"[54] speaks of *Kālikāvidyā mantra [Paṭala* II]. One must chant the *mantra* on an auspicious day, week, asterism and attain the *siddhi* of this *mantra* by which all weapons (of enemy) get stupefied. By performing the worship of the Goddess with flower, incense, sandal, skins, shells, liquor (or wine), flesh and food, one gets the *siddhi* of the *mantra* even more. Thereafter one should offer food to a, *Kumarī* (maiden) daily pacifying her with food, clothes and ornaments. The *'Kodaṇḍa śāstra'* also speaks of the *Kaulikī Vidyā mantra*. This *mantra* is to be charmed and then worn as a talisman on the left shoulder. By this the warrior going to war, can stupefy all weapons of the enemy.

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51. Ray, Poornima., *Vasiṣtha's Dhanurveda Saṁhitā*, J. P. Publishing House, Delhi, 1991

52. *Menon. A. Gopala., "Yuddhamantraṁ"* or *Astravidyā'*, Bulletin of Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Vol. 9, No.2, 1956, pp. 91-99.

53. *Viracintāmaṇi Dhanurveda*, Mss. No. 54 of 1886 - 92, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

54. *Kodaṇḍa śāstra of Dilīpabhūbhṛt*, Acc. No. 12440, *Nāgarī* script, Fols. 11, Oriental Institute, Baroda., Also Darbar Library, National Archives, Nepal.

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Another *Vidyā* spoken of is that belonging to worship of Lord Rudra with a *mantra*. By attaining *siddhi* of this *mantra*, the warrior gets the *siddhis of Aṇimā* and chanting this *mantra* if he puts his left leg in front of army, it gets stupefied. By charming ashes with this *mantra* and if a line is drawn before the enemy army, it cannot cross it. If the *mantra* is chanted and used to charm a skull from a dead body, and then buried inside the ground and burnt, the ensuing smoke that is charmed will destroy enemy army. If a cloth is charmed with this *mantra* and then displayed and waved before the enemy army or if the warrior goes to war wearing it, one is assured of victory *[Paṭala* II].

Mantras and Rituals in Certain Post-vedic Texts

Most of the *Dhanurveda mantras* as stated before, had their origin from Vedic period or the Tantric period. Those taking their origin from Vedic period had drawn from the original *Dhanurveda* texts or from *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* and its associated literature, or from *Ṛgveda* or *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*. The *Dhanurveda mantras* of Tantric period originated from various Tantric literature.

The *Āngirasa Kalpa* part of the *Paippalāda* version of the *Atharvaveda* comprises of rituals in which the king would subjugate, immobilize or destroy his enemies.

A text *Paippalāda Vaśāṣaṭkarmapaddhati*[55] based on it, enjoins worship of *'Narasiṁha Mantrarāja'* for destruction of King's enemies; or to protect a fort when king has retreated to it after a defeat in battle. Further, worship of 20 armed Jaya Narasiṁha for victory in war. If the enemy resorted to a sacrifice wherein the hostile *'Kṛtyā'* was invoked to cause harm on a king and his subjects, then one must resort to worship the armed Goddess Pratyaṅgirā,

If a king proceeds to the battle, the sword is to be charmed with rites of Goddess Kāli, the bow with the *mantra 'dhanvanā gā' [Paippalāda Saṁhitā* PPS 15.10.2] and likewise the arrows are to be empowered for victory with the *mantra* -

ॐ विद्मा शरस्य पितरं पर्जन्यं भूरिधायसम् । विद्मो ह्यस्य मातरं पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥
[PPS 1.3.1]

In order to obtain victory in battles, Goddess Bhadrakālī can also be worshipped. When the kingdom is in danger from an enemy, the king should resort to worship of Indra with the *mantra "Trātāraṁ Indraṁ* PPS 5.4.11]".

The *Siddha Nāgārjuna Tantram*[56] of Siddha Nāgārjuna gives several *mantras* and *siddhis*

55. Pande, Pt. Umakanta:*Paippalāda Vaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati (PPS)*, Published by Author, Balasore, Orissa.

56. Khandelwal, S. N., Tripathi, Dr. Brahmananda., *Siddhanāgārjuna Tantra*, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Publications, Series No. 277, Varanasi, 2001.

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for the celestial weapons in the Nineteenth *Paṭala*. These include *mantras* for *Brahmāstram, Āgneyāstram, Śakti, Candrāhāsa sword, Varuṇāstra, Vajra* and *Śūla (trident)*. The text also describes an elaborate ritual beginning with worship of *Aghora* by which one obtains several celestial weapons. That such rituals were in vogue in those ancient days can be attested by similar rituals performed by Indrajit in *Rāmāyaṇa* and Aśvatthāmā in *Mahābhārata*. Firstly one must bury the sacrificial twigs of sacred trees in various directions. Then anointing oneself with sacred ashes, performing bath previously, adorning with red or black clothes, wearing a sacred thread with hairs or *Dūrvā*, seated on deer skin, perform the *Mudrās* and *Nyāsas* with five *Praṇava*. Thereafter drawing a square *Maṇḍala* with *Gorocana*, honey, Camphor, *Kuṅkuma*, Sandal inscribing an eight petalled lotus in it one must worship the various directions. Then offer *balis to Kṣetrapāla* with *mantras*. By performing all this worship followed by a sacrifice, one gets several celestial weapons.

The *Uḍḍāmareśvara Tantra*[57] gives a rite to stupefy the army of an enemy. One should charm the cremated ashes along with mustard and sprinkle them in front of the enemy's army to stupefy the horses, elephants, men thus making them handicapped. By chanting the *mantra* 7 lakh times with *Homa*, the sword of the enemy shall fall down.

The *Dattātreya Tantra*[58] has several methods of stupefying weapons and rites to stupefy an enemy [IV. 14-28]. The *'Narapatijayācarya Svarodaya'*[59] and *'Samarasāra'*[60], two astrological texts deal extensively on various *yantras* to be kept for the protection of Forts from enemies.

Another treatise titled the *'Raṇadīpikā* of Kumāragaṇaka,[61] deals with several *cakras* by which a king can ascertain about victory or defeat in war and also study about the omens, *svaras* before proceeding to war. Before going to war, it suggests that one must ascertain the strength or war field by drawing of *Bhūbalacakra* worshipping various Devīs in the eight directions. Then one must ascertain the signs for victory, defeat or death of king before going to war *[Adhyāya* VIII]. The *Pāñcarātrāgamas* also have extensive information on celestial

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57. Shukla, Brajesh Kumar., Khanduri, Acharya Pt. Satya Narayana Shastri, *Uḍḍāmareśvara Tantra*, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, No. 149, Varanasi, 1996

58. Shastri, Pt. Shivadatta Mishra., *Dattātreya Tantra* with *Shivadatti* Hindi commentary, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Academy, Series No. 27, Varanasi, 1985

59. Pathaka, Pt. Ganeshadatta, *Narapatijayācarya Svarodaya*, Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 205, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 2002, p. 224-241.

60. Sharma, Hanumat., Somayaji Shri Ramachandra's *Samārasāra*, Khemraj Shri Krishnadas Publishers, Mumbai, 2008, pp. 93-109.

61. Shastri, K. Sambashiva, *'Raṇadīpikā* of *Kumaragaṇaka'*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XCV, Setu Lakshmi Prasadamala No. VII, 1928., Also *Journal of Manuscript Studies*, Trivandrum, Vol. 39,2008 (Reprint), pp.89-120.

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weapons. Of all these, the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*[62] is outstanding as it gives the *mantras* for the 44 *Sopasaṁhāra* and 54 *Upasaṁhāra* weapons [XXXIV-XXXV].

The *'Sāmrtājya Lakṣmī Pīṭhikā'*[63], the Emperor's manual and part of *Tantra* literature has various rites mentioned for victory in war and so on. It stresses that a king must perform *Māheśvari śānti* if there is fear of war or *Kaumāra śānti* in order to increase army strength. [XXII]. Elsewhere it enjoins that a king should perform *Khuralīvrata in Śrāvaṇa* month for 3 days beginning on *Caturdaśī* for increase in strength by exercising wrestlers, weapon holders and soldiers. [XCII]. During the *Navarātri* festivities, a king should perform the *Āyudha Pūjā*, worshipping the 32 chief weapons and royal insignia [CV]. Likewise on *Āśvina Śukla Daśamī*, the king must set up a *Maṇṭapa* with windows, 4 doors, decorated pillars, a decorated *śamī* tree grown there surrounded by royal flags and chariots. After awarding the priests, he should worship the Golden images of Gaṇapati, Durgā, Vaṭuka Bhairava, Kārtivīrya, Narasiṁha, Garuḍa, Hanumān, Rāma, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, Indra, Kuladevatā (family deity), the weapons and so on. The priests have to chant victorious *mantras* over the weapons [108.25-28]. Having received the weapons, the king must worship the *śamī* tree placing bows, arrows, swords before it praying to Lord Nārāyaṇa with Goddess Lakṣmī and Iṣṭadevatā and recite the *Aṣṭakaśloka* for weapons praying to the above deities [109.7-14].

Likewise, the text enjoins that a king perform the *Āyudhavrata* during month of *Māgha* on a *Pūrṇimā*. This was earlier performed by the Pāṇḍavas under the guidance of Sage Dhaumya for victory and appeasement of spirits of weapons. The king should get up during night of *Pūrṇimā*, having bath, worship all the weapons of war placed on a seat by reciting the respective *mantras*, performing the *ṣoḍaśopacāra pūjā* for the *Aṣṭadevatās* invoking them [122. 3 -9].

Conclusions

With such a vast literature treasure, description of military weapons is found in many ancient works. With the tradition of *Dhanurveda* dying out in course of ages, one needs to publish these texts for saving our rich heritage on this aspect as the texts of other Vedic branches of knowledge have seen the light of the day. As *Mantras* of the *Dhanurveda* have not been yet researched one needs to study them and discover the potencies by which our ancestors were able to charm the weapons and protect the society from evil enemies. Seeking the blessings of deities like Durgā, Kārtivīrya, Narasiṁha, Garuḍa, Hanumān, Bhadrakālī,

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62. Krishnamacharya, Pt. V., *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Vols. I-II, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Chennai, Chapter XXXIV-XXXV, 1986

63. Shastri, K. Vasudeva and Shastry, K. S. Subramania, *'Sāmrājya Lakṣmī Pīṭhikā'*, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Series No. 58, Tanjavur, 1990.

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Vīrabhadra and so on has continued down by the royal dynasties and one would have to still seek Divine grace for victory in future wars in the country. Hence these traditions need to be documented as well as handed down to generations by venerable aged preceptors who are still versed in them as one would find them in the remote martial arts practiced in our country. Although there exist several known treatises on *Dhanurveda* that have been documented by scholars, not many have seen the light in terms of in-depth research. There has been a tremendous loss of military equipment technology during the ages and a deeper research insight into such techniques and descriptions in surviving texts of *Dhanurveda* may bring out new revolutionary developments in modem day warfare rather than branding these descriptions as mere imaginary thoughts of our ancestors.[64] Also, research into various aspects of the weapons, their usage, the manufacturing methods and charming them with *mantras* in ancient Indian literature and culture may bring out new dimensions in the study of History of *Dhanurveda.*

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64. Kulkarni, E. D., "The Dhanurveda and its contribution to Lexicography", *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute,* Vol. 3, 1952, pp. 208-220.

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ONE CRIME OVER THE LINE: ŚIŚUPĀLA IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

Karl E. H. Seigfried*

Śiśupāla's fatal confrontation with Kṛṣṇa in the second book of the *Mahābhārata* can be read at two levels - the human and the cosmic. On the lower plane, Śiśupāla is a general and king of Cedi who opposes the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa (in his role as their human ally). On the higher plane, Śiśupāla is associated with Śiva and demons in opposition to Kṛṣṇa (in his role as an incarnation of Viṣṇu). This paper examines the events concerning Śiśupāla that occur at the royal consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira in light of other happenings in the *Mahābhārata,* later Indian texts, historical practice and religious concepts.

At the human level, Śiśupāla is an early obstacle to the worldly success of the *Mahābhārata's* heroes. After his death, he becomes a symbol of opposition to the Pāṇḍavas: Yudhiṣṭhira's rival Duryodhana twice invokes Śiśupāla - first in a self-dramatizing suicide speech,[1] then in frustration at his own inability to slay Bhīma:

यदि कुर्यां समारम्भं भीमं हन्तुं नराधिप ।
शिशुपाल इवाऽस्माकं गतिः स्यान्नाऽत्र संशयः ।। 2/50/28**

However, if we tried to kill Bhīma, king of men, we would doubtless suffer the same fate as Śiśupāla.[2]

Given his main role as belligerent opponent, Śiśupāla is surprisingly collegial in his first appearance. When Bhīma arrives in Śiśupāla's land during the Pāṇḍava conquest of the world before the royal consecration, the king of Cedi leaves his city to welcome him:

तौ समेत्य महाराज कुरुचेदिवृषौ तदा ।
उभयोरात्मकुलयोः कौशल्यं पर्यपृच्छताम् ।। 2/29/14

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1. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata,* 326-327 (2.47.25)
2. *Ibid.,* 346-7 (2.50.27).

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ततो निवेद्य तद्राष्टं चेदिराजो विशाम्पते ।
उवाच भीमं प्रहसन्किमिदं कुरुषेऽनघ ।। 2/29/15

Bulls of each line, Kuru and Cedi, went and exchanged pleasantries, inquiring after the health of one another's families. Śiśupāla offered Bhīma his kingdom, lord of the world, and addressed him with a smile: 'What is your mission, faultless hero?'[3]

Śiśupāla subsequently offers his support for the consecration sacrifice.[4] At this point, there is no suggestion that Śiśupāla is opposed to Yudhiṣṭhira being declared world-sovereign. He only comes into direct conflict with the Pāṇḍavas when the announcement is made during the installation celebration that the guest-gift will be given to Kṛṣṇa.

The bestowal of the guest-gift as part of the royal consecration ritual marks "the deliberate selection of the one who in the king's eyes is the most deserving of the honor after himself."[5] Śiśupāla may have seen himself as the logical recipient of the honor, having served as the general of Jarāsandha, the previous claimant of world-sovereignty.[6] With the defeat of Jarāsandha by the Pāṇḍavas (at Kṛṣṇa's urging), the king who served as his general seems like a logical candidate. Bhīṣma referring to Śiśupāla as 'the eminent world-ruler'[7] and Kṛṣṇa telling Arjuna that he had killed Śiśupāla for his sake[8]- if not merely empty royal rhetoric - may be echoes of the idea that Śiśupāla had his own designs on the position of universal overlord.

Whether or not he desires the world-kingship for himself, Śiśupāla makes a public stand as defender of kingship itself. The subject of his tirade in the great hall is "the defense of the majesty of kings, purported to have been violated because the supplementary *arghya* [guest-gift] has been accorded not to one of them, but to Kṛṣṇa, who is no king.[9] Śiśupāla's 'royalist demagogy'[10] is not mere slander; Kṛṣṇa is not called *rājan* in the *Mahābhārata*,[11] and he has, in fact, goaded Bhīma into killing Jarāsandha, the king that Śiśupāla fought for as a general.[12]

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3. *Ibid.*, 216-17 (2.29.13-14).
4. *Ibid.*, 218-219 (2.29.15).
5. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 23.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 283 (2.40.10).
8. Smith, *Mahābhārata*, 469 (7.155).
9. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior*, 61.
10. *Ibid.*, 63.
11. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 814n.
12. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 192-3 (2.24.3-4).

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Like other *Mahābhārata* characters who praise an ideal in the general sense while violating it in the specific instance, Śiśupāla is both a defender of kingship and a scourge of kings. In one way or another, all of his crimes that Kṛṣṇa enumerates are 'sins' against kings.[13]

On the one hand, Śiśupāla vows to slay Kṛṣṇa and all of the Pāṇḍavas over a snub, because they "overlooked countless kings" in giving the guest-gift to Kṛṣṇa:

आह्वये त्वां रणं गच्छ मया सार्धं जनार्दन ।
यावदद्य निहन्मि त्वां सहितं सर्वपाण्डवैः ।।
सह त्वया हि मे वध्याः सर्वथा कृष्ण पाण्डवाः ।
नृपतीन्समतिक्रम्य यैरराजा त्वमर्चितः ।।
ये त्वां दासमराजानं बाल्यादर्चन्ति दुर्मतिम् ।
अनर्हमर्हवत्कृष्ण वध्यास्त इति मे मतिः ।। 2/45/2-4

I defy you, Janārdana ["destroyer of peoples," i.e., Kṛṣṇa]. Fight with me and I shall slay you and all the Pāṇḍavas, because, yes, I shall kill the Pāṇḍavas as well. They overlooked countless kings and in their folly honored you - you who are no monarch, nothing but an ignorant serf! You deserve nothing, yet they saw fit to honor you. They deserve death![14]

On the other hand, Śiśupāla seems to have had no problem with Jarāsandha's plot to capture, imprison and sacrifice one hundred kings. His praise of kings is also strongly partisan; of the twenty-four kings he lauds as being more worthy of praise than Kṛṣṇa, twenty are figures who fight against the Pāṇḍavas and their allies at some point in the *Mahābhārata*.[15]

Śiśupāla's enmity towards Kṛṣṇa also has a strongly personal element. During the confrontation in the great hall, Śiśupāla gloats that he had been betrothed to Kṛṣṇa's wife Rukmiṇī

मत्पूर्वां रुक्मिणीं कृष्ण संसत्सु परिकीर्तयन् ।
विशेषतः पार्थिवेषु व्रीडां न कुरुषे कथम् ।।

मन्यमानो हि कः सत्सु पुरुषः परिकीर्तयेत् ।
अन्यपूर्वां स्त्रियं जातु त्वदन्यो मधुसूदन।। 2/45/19 & 20

How can you not feel shame, Kṛṣṇa, in declaring before this assembly of kings that I had

13. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior, 60.*

14. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata,* 304-5 (2.45.2-4).

15. *Ibid.*, 298-301 (2.44.6-22).

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designs on Rukmiṇī? What self-respecting man but you, slayer of Madhu, would declare before virtuous men that his wife was intended for another?[16]

The story of the love triangle receives fuller treatment in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. In that later text, we learn that Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī are in love, but have been prevented from marrying by her brother Rukmin, who hates Kṛṣṇa. Rukmin colludes with Jarāsandha to convince Rukmiṇī's father to instead engage her to Śiśupāla. On the eve of the wedding, Kṛṣṇa absconds with Rukmiṇī, destroys the army of the pursuing Rukmin, and marries the princess.[17] However, the fact that the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is so much later than the *Mahābhārata* means that we cannot assume that this particular explicatory story provides the original background for the statements in the *Mahābhārata;* there remains the possibility that the later version is eliding Kṛṣṇa's seduction of Śiśupāla's beloved.

Like the battles between relatives that occur in the war between Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana, the conflict between Śiśupāla and Kṛṣṇa is intrafamilial. Kṛṣṇa is a cousin to Śiśupāla,[18] as he is to the Pāṇḍavas.[19] The five examples of Śiśupāla's hundred crimes that Kṛṣṇa details "have been committed against members of Kṛṣṇa's family ... but in view of familial solidarity they ought to be considered as in effect directed against him."[20] Kṛṣṇa denounces the king of Cedi as "our bitter enemy"[21] it is quite possible that the examples he gives are meant to be expressive of the entirety and that all hundred crimes have hurt Kṛṣṇa in some way.

Family relationships may also play a part in actions taken by Śiśupāla while serving as general to Jarāsandha, "the anointed world-sovereign;"[22] whose military campaigns directly affect Kṛṣṇa. The kings held by Jarāsandha are Kṛṣṇa's relations, with most of the eighty-six captive kings belonging to his *Yādava* clan or to allied families.[23] Like Kṛṣṇa, Śiśupāla is a member of the Vṛṣṇi people, and he may have led the conquest of their shared mother country of Mathurā for Jarāsandha.[24] If so, his military actions would have been yet other offences aimed at Kṛṣṇa.

As a final observation on the human level of the conflict between Śiśupāla and Kṛṣṇa, it should be noted that the defeat of a belligerent challenge was part of the Vedic ceremony of the *rājasūya*, the king's consecration ritual. After the giving of what the *Mahābhārata* calls the

16. *Ibid.*, 306-7 (2.45.18-19).
17. Dutt, *Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇam*, 380-381 (5.26).
18. Wilmot, 296-7 (2.43.14-15).
19. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 24.
20. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior*, 59.
21. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 305 (2.45.6).
22. *Ibid.*, 129 (2.14.7).
23. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior*, 106.
24. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 25.

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guest-gift, the king mounts a chariot and makes a ritualized attack against a specified "hostile" baron. The meaning of the challenge is suggested by a parallel in the ancient coronation rites of British kings, in which a lone figure provokes possible dissenters by riding a horse into the banquet hall and throwing down his gauntlet before being given a goblet of silver and gold from the king as a guest-gift.[25] This idea may have a late shadow in the Middle English romance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* a mixture of material from Norse, Irish, Welsh and French sources which also includes a figure riding into the king's feast, a public challenge, and a post- confrontation gift.

As in the case of the historical British challenger, Śiśupāla seeks to raise the assembled kings to anger, providing an outlet for grievances against installation of the new king. With his defeat by Kṛṣṇa, the rebellious feelings of the regal crowd dissipate, and the ceremony continues with their assent and support. Yudhiṣṭhira confirms this reading of the confrontation when, after the killing of Śiśupāla, he tells Kṛṣṇa,

तव प्रसादाद्गोविन्द प्राप्तः क्रतुवरो मया ।।
क्षत्रं समग्रमपि च त्वत्प्रसादाद्वशे स्थितम् ।
उपादाय बलिं मुख्यं मामेव समुपस्थितम्। 2/45/55b & 56

It is by your grace, Govinda [Kṛṣṇa], that I performed this ceremony successfully, as it is by your grace that the whole ruling class accepts my command and pays generous tribute.[26]

By openly listening to Śiśupāla's grievances and subsequently slaying him before the guests, Kṛṣṇa obviates any further protest against Yudhiṣṭhira's sovereignty (at least for the course of the installation ritual). Of course, the guests also have a healthy fear of Kṛṣṇa at this point.

At the cosmic level, Śiśupāla is first and foremost a "little Śiva." His name relates him to Śiva in his role as *Paśupati,* "lord of animals" or "lord of sacrificial victims."[27] Śiśupāla has been interpreted as "probably an earlier name of Śiva ... 'Śiśu' denotes the young of men and beasts, and 'pāla' protector."[28] The name is "a transposition, to the level of the 'small' (śiśu-), of the already Vedic epithet of Rudra,[29] and it is "like the diminutive of

25. *Ibid.*, 23-24.

26. Wilmot, 312-13 (2.45.53-4).

27. Johnson, *Sauptikaparvan,* 116n.

28. Lassen, Christian, *Indische Altertumskunde* (2nd edition), 823 (quoted in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts,* 212n).

29. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior,* 57.

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paśupati.''[30] The fact that Śiśupāla ''wailed and brayed like an ass''[31] when born foreshadows his 'sacrifice' to Kṛṣṇa at the end of their confrontation in the great hall. In this light, perhaps Śiśupāla's name characterizes him as a small sacrificial beast who needs to protect himself from Kṛṣṇa.

Śiśupāla is born ''with three eyes and four arms''[32] reflecting Śiva's epithets of ''three-eyed Hara''[33] and ''four-armed'' *(caturbhuja).*[34] However, a change comes over the infant Śiśupāla when his mother places him in Kṛṣṇa's lap:

न्यस्तमात्रस्य तस्याङ्के भुजावभ्यधिकावुभौ ।।
पेततुस्तच्च नयनं न्यमज्जत ललाटजम् । 2/43/18

no sooner had she done so than the two extra arms fell off and the third eye sank into its socket.[35]

Given that Śiva's third eye represents his ''power to incinerate the universe,''[36] the removal of Śiśupāla's extra eye seems to suggest the glorification of Kṛṣṇa over Śiva already at the beginning of the incarnate god's interactions with his challenger.

Birth and death are linked when the invisible voice that periodically speaks to characters in the *Mahābhārata* declares to Śiśupāla's mother at his birth that the one who is to cause his transformation into a normal two-armed, two-eyed baby will also be the death of him:

यस्योत्सङ्गे गृहीतस्य भुजावभ्यधिकावुभौ ।।
पतिष्यतः क्षितिजले पञ्चशीर्षाविवोरगौ ।
तृतीयमेतद्बालस्य ललाटस्थं तु लोचनम् ।। 2/43/9b & 10
निमज्जिष्यति यं दृष्ट्वा सोऽस्य मृत्युर्भविष्यति ।। 2/43/11a

The one into whose lap the child's two extra arms will fall like a five-headed snake hurtling toward the ground, and at the sight of whom his third eye will sink into its cavity - that one will be the death of your son.[37]

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30. *Ibid.*, 80.
31. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 295 (2.43.1).
32. *Ibid.*
33. Johnson, *Sauptikaparvan*, 28 (10.7.2-5).
34. Dumezil, *Stakes of the Warrior*, 56.
35. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 296 (2.43.19).
36. Johnson, *Sauptikaparvan*, 132n.
37. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 294-5 (2.43.9-11).

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Śiśupāla's mother begs Kṛṣṇa to pardon her son's future transgressions, and he agrees to allow a specified number:

अपराधशतं क्षाम्यं या ह्यस्य पितृष्वसः ।
पुत्रस्य ते वधार्हस्य मा त्वं शोके मनः कृथाः ।। 2/43/24

I shall forgive a hundred crimes of this son of yours, even if they merit death itself. Grieve not![38]

In the great hall, it becomes clear that Śiśupāla has already used up his one hundred sins and that publicly insulting Kṛṣṇa is the step too far that leads to his death by discus *(Sudarśana cakra)* Serving as the determining force at both ends of Śiśupāla's life, Kṛṣṇa really is his challenger's alpha and omega. From birth as a "little Śiva" to death before Kṛṣṇa, Śiśupāla is thus found ... in contradictory relationships with the two great gods.[39]

Śiśupāla's connection to Jarāsandha underscores his relationship to Śiva. Like Śiśupāla, Jarāsandha is "monstrous at birth and ... restored to human form at the touch of a supernatural being."[40] He is born from two mothers in two halves, then magically united into one whole infant by a *rākṣasī* - a demoness here acting as an agent of Fate - who finds him at a crossroads[41] The location suggests Śiva: "the meeting of four roads" is "one of Rudra's favorite domains."[42] As a would-be world-sovereign, Jarāsandha seeks Śiva's favor to perform the consecration sacrifice[43] in a mirror-image of Yudhiṣṭhira's consultations with Kṛṣṇa for his own ceremony. The backwardness of Jarāsandha's approach is that he gathers kings to kill as sacrifices to Śiva,[44] rather than gather them to speak praise of Kṛṣṇa, as Yudhiṣṭhira does. Jarāsandha's planned human sacrifice is - like that performed by Aśvatthāman in the night raid - associated with Śiva, horror and wrongness. By choosing to align himself with a Śiva-devoted sovereign, "Śiśupāla is, as solidly by nature as he is ephemerally in form, a hero 'on the side of Rudra-Śiva.'"[45]

Śiśupāla's actions during Yudhiṣṭhira's ceremony also suggest a connection to Śiva. After his first confrontation with Kṛṣṇa in the great hall, Śiśupāla "plotted with the kings to disrupt

38. *Ibid.*, 298-299 (2.43.24).
39. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior,* 57.
40. *Ibid.*, 102.
41. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata,* 152-155 (2.17.35-41).
42. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior,* 102.
43. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata,* 138-9 (2.14.64-5).
44. *Ibid.*, 142-3 (2.15.23).
45. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior,* 57.

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the sacrifice" of the royal consecration.[46] In addition, Kṛṣṇa later declares that one of Śiśupāla's hundred crimes was to interrupt his own father's ritual:

अश्वमेधे हयं मेध्यमुत्सृष्टं रक्षिभिर्वृतम् ।
पितुर्मे यज्ञविघ्नार्थमहरत्पापनिश्चयः ।। 2/45/10

Once the malevolent schemer stole the ceremonial horse set free at the great Horse Sacrifice under the guard of armed men, just to obstruct my father's ceremony ![47]

The mythical model for disruption of sacrifice and driving off the sacrificial animal is Śiva, who interrupts the sacrifice of the gods and causes the sacrifice to flee.[48] Long after his physical characteristics have been removed, Śiśupāla continues to act like his divine role model.

Within the world of the *Mahābhārata*, Śiśupāla comes to represent the dangers posed to kings by those who threaten their rituals; during the great horse sacrifice near the end of the work, Kṛṣṇa delivers Arjuna's warning to Yudhiṣṭhira: "... nothing untoward must happen when the guest-offerings are presented ... so that the people are not once again slaughtered because of the hatred of kings for one another."[49] In opposition to the disruptive force represented by Śiśupāla, the narrator Vaiśaṃpāyana portrays Kṛṣṇa as the guardian of ceremony and sacrifice: "When the obstacles [i.e., Śiśupāla] had been removed, the ceremony ... continued under the long-armed Kṛṣṇa's watchful eye; he guarded over all the festivities with his bow, discus *(Sudarśana cakra)* and mace until that great sacrifice, the Royal Consecration, had drawn to its conclusion."[50]

The conflict between Śiśupāla and Kṛṣṇa has been seen as a representation of "the conflict of the Śiva-worship with that of Viṣṇu"[51] and as "an archaic, perhaps para-Vedic, opposition of complementarity between Viṣṇu and Rudra.,[52] *Complementarity* is the key term here. Rather than reading the stories of Śiśupāla and the night-raider Aśvatthāman as

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46. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 96 (2.25.15).

47. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 306-7 (2.45.9).

48. Johnson, *Sauptikaparvan*, 84-85 (10.18.1-15).

49. Smith, *Mahābhārata*, 725 (14.88.15).

50. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 311 (2.45.37-9).

51. Lassen, Christian, *Indische Altertumskunde* (2nd edition), 822 (quoted in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 211n).

52. Hiltebeitel, *Ritual of Battle*, 354.

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being written by, respectively, a worshiper of Kṛṣṇa and a devotee of Śiva, they can be taken together as representative of an internal pluralism within Hinduism, of a belief system that understands the efficacy of various deities at different times - even when one is dedicated to a particular god.[53] Given that the *Mahābhārata* seamlessly moves from a hymn proclaiming a thousand names of Śiva to one declaring a thousand names of Viṣṇu within a single book,[54] the fact that Kṛṣṇa is glorified in the Śiśupāla scene does not necessarily justify the assertion "that the book has at least partially been reworked with a Kṛṣṇaite tendency."[55]

There is another reading of the the Śiśupāla- Kṛṣṇa conflict that also ties it to cosmic confrontation. The Purāṇas "[m]ore mystical than the epic, more willing to meditate on the sublime absurdities of theology,"[56] provide a pre-birth backstory for Śiśupāla as a demon who has opposed Viṣṇu in his past lives. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Śiśupāla's "pristine birth" is as 'the wicked and valiant king of the *Daityas* [demons], Hiraṇyakaśipu, who was killed by the divine guardian of creation [a form of Viṣṇu]."[57] This title of the god echoes Vaiśaṃpāyana's description of Kṛṣṇa as the one who guards the sacrifice against Śiśupāla, especially given the Vedic connection between creation and sacrifice. It has also been asserted that "Hiraṇyakaśipu represents Śaivism;"[58] this Purāṇic relationship reflects the Śiśupāla-Śiva connection discussed above. Śiśupāla's second birth is also demonic; he is "born as the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, whose unequalled, strength, prowess and power were overcome by Rāma [another form of Viṣṇu], the lord of the three worlds."[59]

After the end of each life as a demon, the future Śiśupāla is rewarded for "his death at the hands of Viṣṇu" by being given a higher status in his next life. Rāvaṇa "was exempted from an embodied state for a long time as reward of his virtues."[61] Śiśupāla himself is called Sunītha 'virtuous'[62] and becomes part of Kṛṣṇa, as discussed below. However, Hiraṇyakaśipu is killed "because he was an unbeliever";[63] both he and Rāvaṇa are unable to recognize

53. Doniger, "*Mahābhārata*," February 25, 2015.

54. Smith, *Mahābhārata*, 672n.

55. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 26.

56. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior*, 67.

57. Dutt, *Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇam*, 287 (4.14).

58. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, 211.

59. Dutt, *Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇam*, 287 (4.14).

60. *Ibid.*, 288 (4.15).

61. *Ibid.*

62. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, 294.

63. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, 51.

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Viṣṇu as a deity when he stands before them in various forms.[64] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* here expands upon an idea present in the *Mahābhārata* scene in the great hall, in which Bhīṣma declares that -

कृष्णं कमलपत्राक्षं नाऽर्चयिष्यन्ति ये नराः ।
जीवनमृतास्तु ते ज्ञेया न संभाष्याः कदाचन ।। 2/39/9

Any king Who will not honor the lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa should be regarded as dead while alive.[65]

As will be discussed below, Bhīṣma repeatedly proclaims the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, while Śiśupāla resolutely refuses to acknowledge it, recognizing and worshipping Kṛṣṇa only after being killed by him.

Śiśupāla's demonic character is reflected in the method of his death. Immediately before Kṛṣṇa kills Śiśupāla, Vaiśaṃpayana remarks that

तथा ब्रुवत एवाऽस्य भगवान्मधुसूदनः ।
मनसाऽचिन्तयच्चक्रं दैत्यगर्भनिषूदनम् ।। 2/45/22

As Śiśupāla was speaking, the thoughts of the slayer of Madhu [i.e., Kṛṣṇa] turned to his discus *(Sudarśana cakra)*, which had slaughtered multitudes of demons.[66]

Śiśupāla's fate of being beheaded by Kṛṣṇa's discus *(Sudarśana cakra)*, and then being absorbed into the incarnate god is reflected in the story of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Before beheading them with his discus *(Sudarśana cakra)*, Viṣṇu exchanges boons with these two figures; "his boon is that he will kill them, and their boon is that they will become his sons."[67] Kṛṣṇa's beheading of Śiśupāla is also boon- releated (a death delayed by the boon granted to Śiśupāla's mother), and Śiśupāla's sons are, in a way, "adopted" by Kṛṣṇa and his cousins; Dhṛṣtaketu is an ally of the Pāṇḍavas during the war,[68] and Śarabha pays honor to Arjuna during the horse sacrifice.[69] The idea of demons being ennobled in violent death is reflected in the fate of the Dhṛtarāṣṭras. At the end of the *Mahābhārata*, Vaiśaṃpāyana

64. Dutt, *Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇam*, 288 (4.15).
65. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 276-7 (2.39.9).
66. *Ibid.*, 308-9 (2.45.21).
67. Smith, *Mahābhārata*, 202 (3.193).
68. *Ibid.*, 440 (7.101).
69. *Ibid.*, 721 (14.84).

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reports, "The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra had all been evil *Rākṣasas,* drunk with their own strength; now, purified by the sword, noble and perfected, they travelled to heaven."[70]

Bhīṣma predicts Śiśupāla's strange absorption by Kṛṣṇa, declaring that -

एष ह्यस्य महाबाहुस्तेजोंशश्च हरेर्ध्रुवम् ।
तमेव पुनरादातुमिच्छत्युत तथा विभुः ।। 2/44/3

This long-armed monarch [Śiśupāla] is but an atom of Hari [Kṛṣṇa]'s majesty. And Hari, for his part, intends to recover that particle of lost glory.[71]

Shortly before Śiśupāla's death, Bhīṣma states that anyone who challenges Kṛṣṇa "becomes simply another part of Kṛṣṇa's body."[72]After Kṛṣṇa decapitates Śiśupāla with his demon-slaying discus *(Sudarśana cakra)* "a great fire" flows from Śiśupāla's corpse:

ततः कमलपत्राक्षं कृष्णं लोकनमस्कृतम् ।
ववन्दे तत्तदा तेजो विवेश च नराधिप ।। 2/45/28

The blazing mass of energy worshipped Kṛṣṇa, the lotus-eyed deity honored by all on earth, and entered his body.[73]

Similar language describes the death of Karṇa at the hands of Arjuna: "From Karṇa's slain body a blazing fiery energy swiftly pervaded the sky."[74] The two images of departing spirit-energy resemble each other, but Karṇa is not entering a transcendent godhead, and there is no sense of forgiveness or revelation. He is a child of the sun-god and, as he dies, "[h]is energy leaves his body and enters the Sun (his father)."[75] Śiśupāla's entering into Kṛṣṇa is of a different and deeper nature.

Although the absorption of Śiśupāla has been read as portraying a postmortem Kṛṣṇaist conversion,[76] it is more likely that this is the earliest example of what will later become the "devotion of hatred" form of *bhakti*[77] the negative version of "the mutual intense emotional

70. *Ibid.*, 788 (18.5.15).

71. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata,* 298-9 (2.44.3).

72. *Ibid.*, 305 (2.44.49).

73. *Ibid.*, 308-9 (2.45.27).

74. Smith, *Mahābhārata,* 524 (8.67.25).

75. Johnson, *Sauptikaparvan,* 97.

76. Dumezil, *Stakes of the Warrior,* 103.

77. Doniger, "Mahābhārata," January 26, 2015.

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attachment and love of a devotee toward a personal god and of the god for the devotee.[78] This interpretation fits the demonic aspects of Śiśupāla discussed above. Śiśupāla's determined dislike of Kṛṣṇa is congruent with "what *bhakti* theologians later describe as 'hate-love' *(dveṣa-bhakti)*, which allows other demonic opponents of the gods ... to go straight to heaven when the god in question kills the demon."[79] In the *Bhagavadgītā*, Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that

मत्कर्मकृन्मत्परमो मद्भक्तः सङ्गवर्जितः।
निर्वैरः सर्वभूतेषु यः स मामेति पाण्डव ।। 6/35/55

Whoever acts for me, intent on me as the highest goal, devoted to me, without attachments and without animosity towards any creature, Pāṇḍava, comes to me.[80]

In his demonically intense animosity towards Kṛṣṇa, Śiśupāla fulfills the requirement of devotion, albeit negatively.

The later *Viṣṇupurāṇa* clearly portrays Śiśupāla in the context of "hate-love." When Hiraṇyakaśipu-Rāvaṇa is reborn as Śiśupāla,

he began to show greatest hostility towards Kṛṣṇa an incarnate portion of the glorious Puṇḍarīkā to carry the burden of the world. He was killed by the great God. And on account of his thoughts being entirely devoted him Śiśupāla was united with him after death; for the lord giveth to those with whom he is propitiated what they desire and he confers a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he destroys in displeasure.[81]

The text goes on to posit an explanation for the theological workings of this negative relationship and to relate Śiśupāla's obsession to his past lives: "In this birth many circumstances occured [*sic*] by which he was constrained to utter the name of the great God and on all these occasions the enmity, that had accumulated through successive births, influenced his mind."[82] In the end, what matters is that Śiśupāla continually utters Kṛṣṇa's names. The focus on Kṛṣṇa is the important thing; the negative nature of the attention is merely secondary. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, perhaps following Vaiśaṃpāyana's final words on the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, concludes that Śiśupāla's death by Kṛṣṇa's discus *(Sudarśana cakra)*, removes all of his sins. A moral lesson is tacked on at the end: "He, who names or remembers the glorious Viṣṇu

78. Doniger, "Bhakti."

79. Doniger, The Hindus, 248.

80. Cherniak, *Mahābhārata*, 262-3 (6.35.55).

81. Dutt, *Viṣnu Mahāpurāṇam*, 287 (4.14). Here and elsewhere, I reproduce Dutt's often problematic punctuation.

82. *Ibid.*, 289 (4.15).

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even in the enmity obtains Final emancipation which is not atainable [*sic*] by the gods or demons." Given the *Viṣṇupurāṇa's* emphasis on both Śiśupāla's demonic nature and the forgiveness of his sins, the last caveat is somewhat self-contradictory (or, at least, an exaggeration).

In addition to serving as an image of "hate-love," the killing of Śiśupāla has been interpreted in relation to the god Indra. A basis for this can be found in the *Mahābhārata* itself; after Śiśupāla has entered Kṛṣṇa's body,

अनभ्रे प्रववर्ष द्यौः पपात ज्वलिताऽशनिः ।
कृष्णेन निहिते चैद्ये चचाल च वसुन्धरा ।। 2/45/30

When Kṛṣṇa slew the Caidya, the skies poured with rain, though there were no clouds, and flashes of lightning flew down from the heavens. The earth trembled.[83]

The imagery is suggestive of Indra, whether intentionally or not. This passage may have inspired a scene in the *Śiśupālavadha,* a later expansion of Śiśupāla's story by the poet Māgha, in which the seer Nārada delivers a message from Indra to Kṛṣṇa. The *Śiśupālavadha,* like the *Viṣṇupurāṇa,* connects Śiśupāla to the demons Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāvaṇa, but it adds the idea that Indra (the great enemy of demons) calls upon Kṛṣṇa to slay Śiśupāla on his behalf.[84]

Lastly, Śiśupāla's fate can also be read in light of his connections to Śiva. Having been transformed from a Śiva-like appearance to an outwardly human body by Kṛṣṇa at the beginning of his life, he is more fundamentally transformed from human form to part of the divinity himself at the end of his life. In the reading that posits Śiśupāla's story as representing the relationship between Śiva and Viṣṇu, the absorption can be seen as the victory of the "saving, restoring, regulating god," "the civilized one" over "an excess of nature," an "incorrigible outsider": "at this very instant, the challenger is enlightened, the outsider is converted and becomes a part of Viṣṇu, as all land wrested from the bush becomes a portion of the village or the kingdom.,,[85]

Taken together, Śiśupāla's challenge to and absorption by Kṛṣṇa serve to glorify the latter as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. As in Loki's challenge of the Norse gods in the Icelandic *Lokasenna* ("Loki's Home Truths"), the troublesome figure who interrupts the (divine) feast and calls out the celebrated guest serves the purpose of drawing forth the true might of the challenged one. Unferth's challenging of Beowulf likewise gives the visiting hero the platform to declare

83. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata,* 308-9 (2.45.29).

84. Nerurukar, *Śiśupālavadha,* 1-13. (1)

85. Dumézil, *Stakes of the Warrior,* 85.

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and to prove his own power. In challenges such those of Śiśupāla, Loki and Unferth, "the force of the invective increases exponentially with the accuracy and disgracefulness of the charge ... such a contest would have no point if it were simply lies."[86] The jabs must hit close to home, if they are to lead to meaningful responses.

Śiśupāla's determined denunciation of Kṛṣṇa as unworthy to receive the guest-gift due to his (true) lack of kingly status leads Bhīṣma to defend Kṛṣṇa by repeatedly declaring his divinity. The challenger's refusal to recognize Kṛṣṇa's high status only leads to stronger religious statements by Bhīṣma, who publicly insists that

चतुर्विधानां भूतानां त्रिषु लोकेषु माधवः ।
प्रभवश्चैव सर्वेषां निधनं च युधिष्ठिर ।। 2/40/14

Mādhava [Kṛṣṇa] is the origin and the dissolution of the fourfold beings in the three worlds.[87]

It is arguable whether Śiśupāla truly denies Kṛṣṇa's divinity or, rather, understands that he is a god and yet perversely wants to ridicule him. Although he questions Kṛṣṇa being the world's creator,[88] also mentions, minimizes and makes fun of Kṛṣṇa's past divine accomplishments, such as suspending the mountain of Govardhana on his fingertip for seven days.[89] Even though his goal is ridicule, Śiśupāla's detailing of Kṛṣṇa's feats presents them for the assembled kings; Śiśupāla is once again engaging in an act of "hate-love" analogous to the reciting of the deity's names in anger.

Although Kṛṣṇa's godhood is declared in the first book of the *Mahābhārata,* the scene with Śiśupāla is the first place we see it truly revealed.[90] By resolutely and publicly challenging his status and attacking his divinity, Śiśupāla goads Kṛṣṇa into revealing his godly power to a crowd of kings, before the visionary manifestation to Arjuna in the *Bhagavadgītā*. "By killing Śiśupāla, however, Kṛṣṇa has not answered all the questions,"[91] and he will continue to flicker in and out of divinity for the rest of the *Mahābhārata,* The questions of the Śiśupāla scene - why Śiśupāla and Kṛṣṇa act as they do, what meaning underscores their interaction - lead to speculation such as the expansions and explications of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Śiśupālavadha*. Like so much of the *Mahābhārata*, the story of Śiśupāla invites multiple interpretations.

86. Orchard, *Elder Edda*, 296.

87. Wilmot, *Mahābhārata*, 284-5 (2.40.14).

88. *Ibid.*, 292-3 (2.42.6).

89. *Ibid.*, 284-5 (2.41.9).

90. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 24.

91. Buitenen, *Mahābhārata*, 26.

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૩૧૭	**આહારવિજ્ઞાન** - (પુનઃમુદ્રણ) ડૉ. જયશંકર ધ. પાઠક અને (સ્વ.) અનંતરાય મ. રાવળ (૧૯૯૦)	૬૦.૦૦
૩૭૨	**ભવાઈ : સ્વરૂપ અને લક્ષણો** - કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૩.૦૦
૩૭૩	**શ્રીમદ્ ઉપેન્દ્રાચાર્યજી** - ડો. લવકુમાર મ. દેસાઈ (૧૯૯૬)	૧૯૫.૦૦
૩૭૪	**નાભાજીકૃત ભક્તમાલના ઐતિહાસિક ભક્તો - એક અધ્યયન, ભાગ ૨** - શ્રી મૂલશંકર હી. કેવલિયા (૧૯૯૮)	૧૦૬.૦૦
૩૭૫	**ભવાઈ : ભક્તિ, રસ અને આહાર્ય** - કૃષ્ણકાંત ઓ. કડકિયા (૨૦૦૩)	૧૩૫.૦૦
૩૭૬	**પ્લેટોના કેટલાક સંવાદો** - હરસિદ્ધ એમ. જોશી (૨૦૦૪)	૧૯૦.૦૦
૩૭૭	**કેવલજ્ઞાન સંપ્રદાય : સિદ્ધાંત અને સાહિત્ય** - બહેચરભાઈ પટેલ (૨૦૦૫)	૨૨૫.૦૦
૩૭૮	**વિદુરનીતિનું વિષયપરિશીલન** - ડૉ. અંબાલાલ દ. ઠાકર (૨૦૦૭)	૧૧૫.૦૦
૩૭૯	**સ્વાધ્યાય-સૂચિ (પુસ્તક ૧-૨૫)** - જયંત ઉમરેઠિયા (૨૦૦૭)	૨૧૫.૦૦
૩૮૦	**મહાભારતનો યુદ્ધકાળ**, વસંત અ. ગોડબોલે (૨૦૧૧)	૧૪૦.૦૦
૨૮૩ અને ૨૮૪	**વડોદરા નરેશ શ્રીમંત સયાજીરાવ ગાયકવાડ(ત્રીજા)**, ચિમનલાલ મગનલાલ ડોકટર, બીજી આવૃત્તિ ૨૦૧૪	૫૮૫.૦૦
૩૮૧	**મહાભારતનાં ગૂઢ રહસ્યો** - અનુ. વિજયા લેલે (૨૦૧૬)	૪૩૦.૦૦

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ડી.એન. હોલ ક્રિકેટ ગ્રાઉન્ડ સામે, પ્રતાપગંજ, વડોદરા-૩૯૦ ૦૦૨. ફોન નં. : ૦૨૬૫ ૨૭૯૫૫૧૭

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ĀMALAKĪ (EMBLICA OFFICINALISGAERTN): CULTURAL AND MEDICINAL EVALUATION FROM INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi*

Introduction-

Indian tradition is one of the richest traditions of the world. Human-plant linkage finds prominent place in this tradition. Sanskrit Literature which is synonymous to Indian Tradition is replete with astonishing facts regarding plants. Among many such plants, *Āmalakī* has a significant place. There are countless references regarding this plant. It is one of the herbs mentioned in all ancient scriptures of *Āyurveda*. Endowed with miraculous properties this tree finds mentions in Vedic Literature, *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata,* Purāṇas and Classical Sanskrit Literature. Scriptures like *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[1], *Mahābhāṣya*[2], *Sānkhāyanagṛhyasūtra*[3], *Kāthakagṛhyasūtra*[4], *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*[5] etc. have also mentioned this *Āmalakī* plant. It is well known for its religious, cultural and medicinal properties. It is glorified as the first among all trees[6]. It is sacred. It is destructive of sins. It is supportive and sustainer of men. It acts like a nurse[7]. This tree is associated with life and culture of India. In Hinduism, this plant is worshipped as the Goddess Earth. The main thought behind this concept is that its fruit is considered to be highly nourishing for mankind.

Synonyms of *Āmalakī* -

There are many synonyms for *Āmalakī.* These synonyms have been discussed in *Nighaṇṭu* books. Describing synonyms of *Āmalakī, Rājanighaṇṭu* says-

आमलकी वयःस्था च श्रीफला धात्रिका तथा । अमृता च शिवा शान्ता शीताऽमृतफला तथा॥
जातीफला च धात्रेयी ज्ञेया धात्रीफला तथा। वृष्या वृत्तफला चैव रोचनी शरभूह्वया॥

Rājanighaṇṭu Āmrādivarga/156

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1 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*-7/3/1

2 *Mahābhāṣya*-1/1 /58; 5/1/19

3 *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhyasūtra*-1/11 /2

4 *Kāthakagrhyasūtra*-2/8/2

5 *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*-19 / 12

6 *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/14

7 *Ibid*, 2/4/12/118

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i.e. *Āmalakī, Vayasthā, Śrīphalā, Dhātrikā, Amṛtā, Śivā, Śitā, Śāntā, Amṛtaphalā. Jātīphalā, Dhātreyī, Dhātrīphalā, Vṛṣyā, Vṛttaphalā* and *Rocanī*- these are 15 synonyms for *Āmalakī.*

Some other *Nighaṇṭu* books have also come up with additional synonyms of *Āmalakī.*[8] Many of such synonyms have been discussed in Table 1. Each and every synonym has special significance. Some of these synonyms even indicate medicinal properties of *Nimba.* This fact will also be clear from the table 1.

Table 1

Synonyms of *Āmalakī* with reasoning[9]

Sr. No.	Synonym of *Amalakī*	Reason for being called so
1.	*Amalā*	Ithelps in purifying or refining the body-' *Na malaṃ tiṣṭhanyanayā*
2.	*Amṛtaphalam*	Fruit of this tree is invigorating as *Amṛta* (Elixir)- '*Amṛtavat rasāyanaṃ phalamasyāḥ'*
3.	*Amṛtā*	It is highly beneficial like *Amṛta.* One who consumes it does not fall prey to untimely demise- *'Amṛtavad guṇakārī rasāyanatatvāt na mriyante janā akāle yasyāḥ sevanetyarthaḥ'*
4.	*Koraṇgakā*	In ancient time, this tree was most commonly cultivated in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh- *'Koraṇgadeśe bhavā'*
5.	*Kolam*	It weighs one *Kola*- '*Kolaparimāṇaṃ phalamasya'*
6.	*Jātīphalarasam*	The juice of the fruit of this plant is very useful from medicinal point of *view-Jātī praśastaḥ phalarasaḥ asya'*
7.	*Tiṣyaphaiā*	Fruiting season for this tree is Pauṣa month-:' *Tiṣye Pauṣamāse phalarasaḥ asya'.* Fruits of this tree are considered to be auspicious- '*Tisyaṃ māngalyam phalmasya iti* '

8 *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu- Haritakyādivarga/38*

9 *A Text Book ot Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna*-pp 31-32, *Nāmarūpajñānam* 23 -25

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8.	*Dhātrī*	Fruits of this tree promote *dhātu* (tissue) and has similar properties as *stanya* (breast milk)- *Dhātri vā dehasya dhāraṇapoṣaṇakārī; stanyamiva phalaraso pīyate asyāḥ'*
9.	*Vayasthā*	Various parts of this plant are helpful in maintaining youthfulness- *'Vayastaruṇam sthāpayatīti vayaḥ sthāpanītyarthaḥ'*
10.	*Vayasyā*	Ithelps in promoting longevity-*'Vayase āyuṣe hitā, āyuṣetyarthaḥ '*
11.	*Vṛttaphalā*	Fruits of plant this globular or round-*'Vṛttam phalamasyāḥ'*
12.	*Vṛṣyā*	It helps in improving *śukra dhātu-'Śukravarṣinī '*
13.	*Śivam*	This plant is beneficial almost all cases- *Kalyāṇakāri '*
14.	*Śītaphala*	Fruit of this tree possesses *śītavīrya-'Śitavīryaṃ phalam'*
15.	*Śrīphala*	Fruit of this plant is very beautiful. It is a tree where the Goddess Lakṣmī or all prosperity including health resides.
16.	*Divyadhara*	This tree is full of divine qualities.

Botanical Description

The *Āmalakī* tree is small to medium sized, reaching 8 to 18 m in height with thin light grey bark exfoliating in small thin irregular flakes, a crooked trunk and spreading branches. The branchlets are glabrous or finely pubescent, 10-20 cm long, usually deciduous. The leaves simple, subsessile and closely set along branchlets, light green, resembling pinnate leaves. The flowers are greenish-yellow in axillary fascicles, unisexual, males numerous on short slender pedicels, females few, subsessile, ovary 3-celled. The fruit is nearly spherical, light greenish yellow, quite smooth and hard on appearance, with 6 vertical stripes or furrows[10]

10 *Indian Medicinal Trees*, p 30

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Geographical Distribution

The species are native to India, occurring all over the country from the sea-coast districts to hill slopes up to 2000 m, also cultivated in plains. It is common in deciduous forests up to an elevation of about 1400 m. It is a characteristic tree in moist peninsular high and low level sal,moist sal, moist savannah and dry savannah forests.[11]

Ecological Requirements

Āmalakī , a subtropical fruit is successfully grown in tropical climates. The mature plants can tolerate both freezing temperature as well as temperature as high as 46°C. It has been observed that warm season is conducive for the initiation of floral buds. The young seedlings are frost and drought sensitive. It thrives in most rainfall regimes except arid (below 400 mm annually). Saline and poor soils, wastelands, barren, fertile and unirrigated lands are all suitable for its growth. The soils having a pH of 7-9.5 are ideal for its cultivation.[12]

Propagation

The tree can be propagated by seedling raised in nursery or by direct sowing. However, direct sowing is not advisable due to infertile seed and low germination. Vegetative propagation through budding, cutting and inarching gives superior growth. Cut graft is the best method. Nursery raised seedlings grown by seeds sown in beds during March can be planted in July - August. The seedlings should be handled carefully avoiding damage to the root system.[13]

Origin of *Āmalakī*-

Skanda Purāṇa has come up with very interesting story regarding origin of *Āmalakī*. Formerly when everything was turned into a vast sheet of water, Brahmā performed *japa* of the great and immutable Mahāviṣṇu transcending his own soul. As he performed the *japa* (mental repetition of the holy names) of Mahāviṣṇu, a deep breath came out of him. Due to the affection on seeing it water came out of the eyes. Drop of tears of love burst out and fell on the ground. The great tree of *Āmalakī* grew from those drops-

प्रेमाश्रुभरनिर्भिन्नो भूमौ बिन्दुः पपात सः।
तस्माद्बिन्दोः समुत्पन्नः स्वयं धात्रीनगो महान्॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/13

11 *Ibid*, p. 30
12 *Ibid*, p. 31
13 *Ibid*, p. 30

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Sacred Values of *Āmalakī*-

This tree is well known for its sacred values. *Padma Purāṇa* says long life would be ontained by eating it; religious merit would be accumulated by drinking the juice of it, misfortune would be destroyed by taking a bath after applying its tenacious paste to one's body; and one would get all prosperity-

भक्षणे च भवेदायुः पाने वै धर्मसञ्चयः।
अलक्ष्मीनाशनं स्नाने सर्वैश्वर्यमवाप्नुयात्॥ *Padma Purāṇa*- 1/62/4

The same Purāṇa again says that the religious man who bathes after besmearing his body with the juice of a *Dhātrī* fruit obtains the fruit of horse sacrifice at every step.[14] *Skanda Purāṇa* says that wherever one takes bath using *Dhātrī water,* whether it is in a *tīrtha* or in a house, Hari is present there.[15] If the bones in the body of a man are washed with the use of *dhātrī* while bathing, he will never stay in any womb.[16]

It is believed that he whose hair is always well tinged with *dhātrī* juice, would never again suck his mothers breast i.e. would never be reborn.[17] Even a site of the *Āmalakī* tree is considered to be highly fruitful. Lord Viṣṇu is pleased with his devotee who utters the name of this tree.[18] Viṣṇu is pleased with a devotee who offers him eatables along with *Dhātrī* fruit and not by hundreds of other sacrifices.[19] *Āmalakī* is an excellent *Vaiṣṇava* tree; one will get the benefit of making the gift of cows merely by remembering it. By seeing it one gets twice the benefit and eating its fruits three times the benefit-

अस्य वै स्मरणादेव लभेद्गोदानजं फलम्।
दर्शनाद्द्विगुणं पुण्यं त्रिगुणं भक्षणात्तथा॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/1

If any man resorts to the shade of a *Āmalakī* tree and offers in particular a row of lamps in *Kārtika* month, his merit is infinite.[20] If a man takes food at least once under a *Āmalakī* tree in the month of *Kārtika* and feeds a couple he is liberated from all evils of food.[21] Whatever meritorious deed a man performs under the shade of *Āmalakī* tree, shall become increased crore of times. There is no doubt about it-

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14 *Padma Purāṇa* -1/62/30
15 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/121
16 *Ibid* -2/4/12/122
17 *Padma Purāṇa* -1 /62/12
18 *Ibid* - 1 /62/13
19 *Ibid* -1/62/16
20 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/67
21 *Ibid* -2/4/12/69

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यत्किञ्चित् कुरुते पुण्यं धात्रीछायासु मानवः।
तत्कोटिगुणितं भूयान्नाऽत्र कार्या विचारणा॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/28

Sacrifices, Gods, sages and holy places always remain by resorting to the *Dhātrī* in *Kārtika*.[22] A man, who collects a leaf of *Āmalakī* on the 12th day in *Kārtika*, would not go to hell full of torment.[23]

He, who, after bathing i.e after applying the juice of *Dhātrī* fruit to his body, worships Viṣṇu, gets the desired fruit, or whatever he has in his mind.[24] Serving *Āmalakī* tree is considered to be very pious deed. *Padma Purāṇa* says that the man, who is engaged in serving *Āmalakī*, gets the same position as the learned or the meditating sages have.That position, which is resorting to or visiting sacred places or by observing various vows, is obtained by men by means of *Āmalakī* well-

या गतिर्ज्ञानिनां स्कन्द मुनीनां योगसेविनाम्।
गतिं तां समवाप्नोति धात्रीसेवारतो नरः॥
तीर्थसेवाभिगमने व्रतैश्च विविधैस्तथा।
सा गतिर्लभ्यते पुंसां धात्रीफलमुसेवया॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1/62/19-20

That dead man (i.e. the dead body of a man) in whose nose, ear or mouth or hair or the head a *Dhātrī* fruit is placed, goes to the abode of Viṣṇu.[25] Scriptures have come up with the fact that a dead man, merely by the contact with *Dhātrī* fruit attains tremendous results. All his sins perish; and he goes heaven in a chariot.[26] The dead ancestors of him, who are offered *Piṇḍas* in the shadow of *Dhātrī* in the Tulasī grove, are emancipated.[27] If a man resorts to the shade of *Dhātrī* and offers rice balls to *Pitṛs*, the *Pitṛs* attain liberation with the favour of Mādhava-

धात्रीछायां समाश्रित्य कुर्यात्पिण्डं तु यो नरः।
प्रयांति पितरो मुक्तिं प्रसादान्माधवस्य तु॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/76

Padma Purāṇa suggests wearing rosary made of *Āmalakī* fruits. The man on whose body is seen the rosary made of *Dhātrī* fruits is a devotee of Viṣṇu-

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22 *Padma Purāṇa* -4/22/22
23 *Ibid* -4/22/23
24 *Ibid* -1/62/17
25 *Ibid* -1/62/28
26 *Ibid* -1/62/29
27 *Ibid* -1/62/19

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धात्रीफलकृता माला तुलसीकाष्ठसम्भवा।
दृश्यते यस्य देहे तु स वै भागवतो नरः॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-4/22/11

Not only this, *Padma Purāṇa* goes further to say that he who keeps the *Āmalakī* fruits in his hand, on his head, round his neck or in his ears should be known as Viṣṇu.[28] A man can reside in Vaikuṇṭha as many thousands of *yugas* as the number of days he wears garland of *Dhātrī* flowers in *Kaliyuga*-

यावद्दिनानि वहते धात्रीमालां कलौ नरः।
तावद्युगसहस्राणि वैकुण्ठे वसतिर्भवेत्॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/80

A person who smears his body with the paste of the fruit of *Āmalakī,* whose diet consists of the fruit of *Dhātrī* and who is endowed with the fruit of *Dhātrī* becomes Nārāyaṇa[29]. If a person holds the fruits of *Āmalakī* always within his closed hand, Lord Nārāyaṇa grants him desired boon[30]. Merely by remembering *Āmalakī,* a man would get the fruit of donating a cow. By touching it, one's religious merit is doubled, and by wearing it is tripled.[31]

Āmalakī and its Association with Gods-

Scriptures have time and again established the fact that *Āmalakī* is closely associated to various Gods. *Padma Purāṇa* says that Viṣṇu is stationed at the *Āmalakī* tree. Brahmā stays above it; in its trunk the highest lord, the revered Rudra lives. All the sages live in its branches, and the deities live in its twigs. The Gods remain in its leaves and the Maruts in its flowers. All the lords of the created beings are similarly settled in its fruits. It is declared to be full of all Gods. It is most adorable for those who are greatly devoted to Viṣṇu-

तस्य मूले स्थितो विष्णुस्तदूर्ध्वे च पितामहः।
स्कन्धे च भगवान्रुद्रः संस्थितः परमेश्वरः॥
शाखासु मुनयः सर्वे प्रशाखासु च देवताः।
पर्णेषु चासते देवाः पुष्पेषु मरुतस्तथा॥
प्रजानां पतयः सर्वे फलेष्वेव व्यवस्थिता॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-6/46/18-21

Similar information has been given in the *Skanda Purāṇa,* which says that *Āmalakī should* be worshipped for this cause.[32]

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28 *Ibid*- 4/22/20

29 *Skanda Purāṇa* - 2/4/12/72

30 *Ibid*-2/4/12/73

31 *Padma Purāṇa*-6/ 46/16-17

32 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/21-24

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Keeping this point in mind the *Padma Purāṇa* asks to plant this tree.The Purāṇa says that Viṣṇu dwells there, and also Brahmā; Lakṣmī also is steady in that house where there is the fruit of *Dhātrī* ; therefore a man should plant it in his house-

धात्रीफलं च यत्रास्ते तत्र तिष्ठति केशवः।
तत्र ब्रह्मास्थिरापद्मा तस्मात्तां तु गृहे न्यसेत्॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1/62/14

This Purāṇa further adds that misfortune perishes from that place where *Dhātrī* stands. All Gods are pleased; and being glad do not leave him for a moment-

अलक्ष्मीर्नश्यते तत्र यत्र धात्री प्रतिष्ठति।
सन्तुष्टास्सर्वदेवाश्च न त्यजन्ति क्षणं मुदा॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1/62/15

According to the *Padma Purāṇa, Āmalakī* fruit is used in worshipping deities. In the month of Kārtika, Rādhā and Dāmodara should be particularly worshipped beneath a *Āmalakī* plant.[33] Except in the worship of the Sun, the *Āmalakī* fruit is recommended in all sacrifices and rites and in worship of every God-

सर्वयज्ञेषु कार्येषु शस्तं चामलकीफलम्।
सर्वदेवस्य पूजायां वर्जयित्वा रविं सुतः॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1/62/23

Worshipping *Āmalakī* and Various *Vratas* Related to it-

It is well known fact that worshipping king plants is part of Indian Tradition. *Āmalakī* is one of the trees considered to be very sacred and thus, scriptures have time and again discussed worshipping of *Āmalakī* . The devotee shall worship *Āmalakī* on the 14th day in the bright half of the month of Kārtika-*Ūrjaśuklacaturdaśyām dhātrīpūjām samācaret.*[34]At conclusion of Kārtika *vrata*, one should worship the splendid *Āmalakī* .[35]

Skanda Purāṇa is of the view that if worship of Viṣṇu is not possible then *Āmalakī* should be worshipped.[36] When *Śivarātri* approaches, devotees worship this plant tying red and yellow threads around its trunk. Like any other form of worship; water, flowers and fruits are offered to the tree. Special prayers are offered to this plant on the occasion of *Akṣayanavamī.* After *Ṣoḍaśopacāra pūjā, Brāhmaṇas* are fed beneath its shade. By doing so the devotee brings boundless merit for him. Going by the Indian tradition, offering white pumpkin to *Brāhmaṇa* on this occasion is considered to be highly meritorious.[37]

33 *Ibid* -2/4 /3/31
34 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/3
35 *Ibid* -2/4/12/70
36 *Ibid* -2/4/1/54
37 *Sacred Plants of India*, p.157

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Āmalakyekādaśī is one of important *vrata* observed in India. It falls in the bright half of the month of *Phālguna.*[38] Describing this *vrata* the *Padma Purāṇa* says that the *Āmalakī* vow is auspicious and gives (i.e. takes one) to Viṣṇu's world. A man should go to the root of *Āmalakī* tree, and should keep awake there during the night. Having kept awake there for that night, he would obtain the fruit of giving thousand cows-

आमलकीव्रतं पुण्यं विष्णुलोकफलप्रदम्।
आमलक्यास्तले गत्वा जागरणं तत्र कारयेत्॥
कृत्वा जागरणं रात्रो गोसहस्रफलं लभेत्। *Padma Purāṇa*-6.46.2-3a

If a person resorts to the shade of *Dhātrī* on the 12th lunar day, worships Hari,feeds *Brāhmaṇas* there itself and himself takes cooked pulses and other stuffs as his food, he does not return to the world even after hundreds and crores of *Kalpas.*[39]

Padma Purāṇa further says that when a man breaks his fast on the 11thday of each fortnight just touching *Dhātrī* , he is free from the sins committed during seven births just by observing one fast. There is no doubt about this. He obtains heaven eternally and is absorbed into Viṣṇu. Therefore, with all efforts, observe the *Dhātrī vow-*

संयते पारणे चैव धात्र्येकस्पर्शने नरः।
भुक्त्वा तु लङ्घयेद्यस्तु एकादश्यां सितासिते॥
एकेनैवोपवासेन कृतेन तु षडानन।
सप्तजन्मकृतात्पापान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः॥
अभयं लभते स्वर्गं विष्णुसायुज्यमाव्रजेत्।
तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन धात्रीव्रतं समाचर॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1.62.9-11

Āmalakī as Dispeller of Sins-

Scriptures have announced *Āmalakī* as dispeller of sins. Making all efforts a man should always resort to *Āmalakī* . It is said to remove all sins.[40] *Padma Purāṇa* says that the sins earned by person during crores of births, gets at once perished just by worshipping Viṣṇu with the leaves of *Āmalakī-*

धात्रीपत्रैः फलैर्विप्र श्रीहरिं चार्चयेद् द्विज।
कोटिजन्मार्चितं पापं पूजया नश्यति क्षणात्॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-4/22/21

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38 *Padma Purāṇa* -6/45/1

39 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/82-83

40 *Padma Purāṇa* -6/46/17

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If anyone performs the worship of Hari in the forest of *Āmalakī* and takes food under the shade thereof in the month of Kārtika, his sin perishes-

धात्रीवने हरेः पूजा धात्रीछायासु भोजनम्।
कार्तिके मासे यः कुर्यात्तस्य पापं विनश्यति॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/26

One who touches *Āmalakī* every day, gets rid of all his sins of mind, body and speech.[41]

Plantation of *Āmalakī*

A person who plants an *Āmalakī* plant gets invisible blessings of Almighty equivalent to *Rājasūya yajña*.[42] planting this tree leads makes one free from the bondage of birth.The *dhātrī* fruit is very pure and is well known in all worlds, by planting which a man or a woman becomes free from the bondage of birth.

धात्रीफलं परं पूतं सर्वकालेषु विश्रुतम्।
यस्य रोपान्नरो नारी मुच्यते जन्मबन्धनात्॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1/62/2

Prohibition for felling *Āmalakī* tree-

Scriptures have time and again prohibited felling this *Āmalakī* tree. He who harms the *Āmalakī* tree, the resort of all Gods, gives blow on the body of Viṣṇu. It is full of all Gods. It is especially dear to Viṣṇu. Even Brahmā cannot correctly describe its virtues-

धात्रीतरुं यो हन्ति सर्वदेवगणाश्रयम्।
स ददाति हरेरङ्गे घातं नास्त्यत्र संशयः॥
सर्वदेवमयी धात्री विशेषात्केशवप्रिया।
सम्यग्वक्तुं गुणं तस्या ब्रह्मणाऽपि न शक्यते॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-7/24/65-66

Āmalakī* and *Vāstu

Planting *Āmalakī* tree in villages, townships and camps is considered to be highly auspicious and beneficial.[43] Presence of *Āmalakī* plant is very beneficial in house limit. Its presence also nullifies the bad effects due to other negative plants in a limit.[44] Ghosts, evil spirit known as *Kūṣmāṇḍā* or *Rākṣasas* do not enter that house where *Dhātrī grows*.[45]

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41 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/127
42 *Miraculous Plants*- p 71
43 *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*-4/103/53
44 *Miraculous Plants*- p 71
45 *Skanda Purāṇa* -2/4/12/129

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Astrology and *Āmalakī* -

Āmalakī is very significant from astrological point of view. When the sun is stationed in the Zodiac Libra, all the *tīrthas,* sages, devas and *yajñas* resort to the *dhātrī* in Kārtika and abide themselves there-

तीर्थानि मुनयो देवा यज्ञाः सर्वेऽपि कार्तिके।
नित्यं धात्री समाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्त्यर्के तुलास्थिते॥ *Skanda Purāṇa*-2/4/12/27

There is very simple bath advised in astrology to overcome the bad effects of Mercury. For this purpose a little amount of *Āmalakī,* honey, *gorocana,* gold, *Haritakī, Vibhītakī, Gomaya* and rice are added in the water of the bath and then the bath is performed. This should be done regularly for few Wednesdays continuously. For removing the bad effects of Venus, a similar bath experiment is performed on every Friday continuously.[46] Discussing the astrological importance of this *Āmalakī, Padma Purāṇa* says that by properly worshipping the *Āmalakī* fruit, those planets that are wicked, and the fierce demons and goblins, do not become wicked-

ग्रहदुष्टाश्च ये केचिदुग्राश्च दैत्यराक्षसाः।
सर्वे न दुष्टतां यान्ति धात्रीफलसुसेवनात्॥ *Padma Purāṇa*-1/62/22

It is believed that seeing *Āmalakī* tree in dream is indicator of gaining wealth.[47]

Medicinal Properties of *Āmalakī*

Renowned Āyurvedic texts, *Nighaṇṭu* books and scriptures have discussed medicinal properties of the *Āmalakī* in detail. Some of the references are given here-

Caraka Samhitā-

Juice of grapes and *Āmalakī* fruit act as purgative as well as **anti-pyretic**. Similar is the juice of *Āmalakī* fried with *ghṛta*-

मृद्वीकामलकानां वा रसं प्रस्कन्दनं पिबेत्।
रसमालककानां वा घृतभृष्टं ज्वरापहम्॥ *Caraka Saṃhitā-Cikitsāsthāna*(Ci)/3/230

The patients having no diaphoresis and **sleep** and having **excessive thirst** should take the liquid gruel fried with *ghṛta* and cooked with *Śuṇṭhi* and *Āmalakī* and added with sugar. This acts as anti-pyretic-

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46 *Miraculous Plants*- p 70

47 *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*-4/77/34

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अस्वेदनिद्रस्तृष्णार्तः पिबेत् पेयां सशर्कराम्।
नागरामलकैः सिद्धां घृतभृष्टां ज्वरापहाम्॥ *Ibid*-Ci/3/187-188

Khaṇḍa, which is a dietary preparation made of *Kāśmarya* and *Āmalakī* and taken with supernatant fatty layer of curd is helpful in controlling **excessive bleeding**, if administered properly-

काश्मर्यामलकानां.....।
दग्धः सरेण सिद्धान् दद्याद् रक्ते प्रवृत्तेऽति॥ *Ibid*-Ci/14/202

Dhātryāvaleh, a special preparation made up of *Āmalakī* alleviates **jaundice, disorders of** *pitta*, *pāṇḍu*, *kāsa* and *Hatimaka*.[48] *Dhātryāriṣṭa*, another preparation should be taken in morning in proper dose keeping on wholesome and measured diet on digestion. This *ariṣṭa* alleviates **jaundice, anaemia, heart disease, *vātarakta*, malarial fever, cough hiccup** and **anorexia**-

प्रपिबेन्मात्रया प्रातर्जीर्णे हितमिताशनः।
कामलापाण्डुहृद्रोगन्वातासृग्विषमज्वरान्॥
कासहिक्कारुचिश्वासांश्चैषोऽरिष्टः प्रणाशयेत्॥ *Ibid*-Ci/16/113-114

Āmalakī fruits mixed with plenty of honey and sugar should be used as **purgative**. It is efficacious in treating *raktapitta*-

.....आमलकानि वा।
विरेचनं प्रयुञ्जीत प्रभूतमधुशर्करम्॥
रसः प्रशस्यते तेषां रक्तपित्ते विशेषतः। *Ibid*-Ci/4/57-58

The juice of *Āmalakī* and *Kapittha* added with *Pippalī* and honey controls **hiccup** quickly-

.....सद्यो हिक्कां नियच्छति।
पिप्पलीमधुयुक्तो वा रसो धात्रीकपित्थयोः॥ Ci/17/135

The patient of fever having constipation should take the liquid gruel having barley cooked with long pepper and *Āmalakī* fruits and added with adequate quantity of *ghṛta*. It acts as **carminative**-

विबद्धवर्चाः सयवां पिप्पल्यामलकैः शृताम्।
सर्पिष्मतीं पिबेत्पेयां ज्वरी दोषानुलोमनीयम्॥
कोष्ठे विबद्धे सरुजि पिबत् पेयां शृतां ज्वरी। *Ibid*-Ci/3/184-185

48 *Caraka Samhitā*-Ci/16/100-102

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Jāti leaves, *Āmalakī, Musta* and *Dhanvayavāsa*-decoction of these drugs added with jaggery should be taken by a patient of fever who is constipated-

जात्यामलकमुस्तानि तद्वद्धन्वयवासकम्।
विबद्धदोषो ज्वरितः कषायं सगुडं पिबत्॥ *Ibid*-Ci/3/207-208

The patient of *Prameha* should take the powder of *Haridrā* mixed with honey along with the juice of *Āmalakī* fruits-

हरिद्रां पिबेद्रसेनामलकीफलानाम्। *Ibid*-Ci/6/26

The patient of *Halīmaka* take buffalow's *ghṛta* processed with *Āmalakī* juice after proper unction.[49] One should advise the patient of *Visarpa* to drink the juice of *paṭola* leaves, *Mudga* and *Āmalakī* added with *ghṛta*-

पटोलपत्रमुद्गानां रसमामलकस्य च।
पाययेत् घृतोन्मिश्रं नरं विसर्पपीडितम्॥ *Ibid*-Ci/21/61

***Suśruta Samhitā*-**

The *Āmalakyādi* group of drugs brings down all types of fever, is beneficial for the eyes, is an appetizer and aphrodisiac cures *Kapha* and anorexia-

आमलक्यादिरित्येष गणः सर्वज्वरापहः।
चक्षुष्यो दीपनो वृष्यः कफारोचकनाशनः॥

Suśruta Samhitā-Sutrasthāna (Su)/38/61

Āmalakī is cold, dry and curative for *pitta, medas* and *Kepha*-

शीतमामलकं रुक्षं पित्तमेदः कफापहम्। *Ibid*-Su/44/70

Āmalakī fruit is sour, sweet, bitter, astringent and acrid in taste and is a laxative, is beneficial for the eyes, pacifies all the *doṣas and* is spermatogenic. Due to its sourness taste it eliminates vāta; due to its sweetness and coolness it eliminates *pitta;* due to its dryness and astringent property it pacifies *Kapha* and hence it is the best of all the fruits-

अम्लं समधुरं तिक्तं कषायं सरम्।
चक्षुष्यं सर्वदोषघ्नं वृष्यमामलकीफलम्॥
हन्ति वातं तदम्लत्वात् पित्तं माधुर्यशैत्यतः।
कफं रुक्षकषायत्वात् फलेभ्योऽभ्यधिकं च तत्॥ *Ibid*-Su/46/143-144

49 *Ibid*-Su Ci/16/135

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Soup *Mudga* and *Āmalakī* are **constipative in action** and are **beneficial for *pitta* and kapha diseases.**[50] Rice with *ghṛta* taken with the soup of *Āmalakī* is helpful in curing leprosies.[51] *Haridrā* when taken with *Āmalakī* juice and honey is helpful in curing all kinds of urinary abnormalities.[52] A healthy person should wash his face and eyes with the decoction of *kṣīrī* trees and *Āmalakī*. This would soon prove effective in destroying *Nilikā*, dryness of the mouth, boils, *vyaṅga* and haemorrhagic diseases. It makes the face lighter and eye sight stronger.[53]

The powder of *Āmalakī* treated with its expressed juice in the form of *bhāvanā*, should be licked with sugar, honey and *ghṛta* and just after that, milk should be drunk. By this therapy even an old man of eighty becomes vigorous as a young man-

स्वमामलकं चूर्णं स्वरसेनैव भावितम्।
शर्करामधुरसर्पिर्भिर्युक्तं लीढ्वा पयः पिबेत्॥
एतेनाशीतिवर्षोऽपि युवेव परिहृष्यति। *Suśruta Samhitā*-Ci/26/24-25

The leaves and fruits of *Āmalakī cooked* in the manner of *rasakriyā* should be **employed as collyruim**-

पत्रं फलं चामलकस्य पक्त्वा क्रिया विदध्यादथवाऽञ्जनार्थे *Ibid-Uttarasthāna* (U)/12/49

In order to combat pain resulting from the operative interference the eye-drops prepared from milk processed with *Karañja* seeds, *Āmalakī* and *Madhuyaṣṭi* mixed with honey, should be used twice a day-

करञ्जबीजामलकमधुकैः साधितं पयः।
हितमाश्योतनं शूले द्विरह्नः क्षौद्रसंयुतम्॥ *Ibid*-U/14/14-15

Pāyasa prepared from *Āmalakī* and cooked with sufficient quantity of *ghṛta* and the decoction of *Triphalā* is helpful in preventing *timira*.[54] *Ghṛta* processed with *Śatāvarī, Pṛthakparṇī, Musteka. Āmalakī, Padākṣa* and goat's milk eradicates burning sensation and pain-

शतावरीपृथक्पर्णीमुस्तामलकपद्मकैः।
साजक्षीरैः श्रृतं सर्पिर्दाहशूलनिवर्हणम्॥ *Ibid*-U/17/93

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50 *Suśruta Samhitā-Sūtrasthāna*-Su/46/374
51 *Ibid*- Su Ci/10 /14
52 *Ibid*- Su Ci/11/ 18
53 *Ibid*- Su Ci /24/15-17
54 *Ibid*-U/17/49

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The fluids of *Tinduka, Harītakī, Lodhra, Samaṅga* and *Āmalakī* combined with honey and the juice of *Kapittha* are helpful when used filling the ear easily-

तिन्दुकान्यभया रोध्रं समङ्गाऽऽमलकं मधु।
पूरणं चात्र पथ्यं स्यात्कपित्थरसयोजितम्॥ *Ibid*-U/21/46

The decoction prepared from *Kirātatikta, Amṛta*, grapes, *Āmalakī* and *Śati* and taken with treacle cures ***vātapittaja*** **fever**-

किराततिक्तममृतां द्राक्षामामलकं शटीम्।
निष्काथ्य वातपित्तोत्थे तं क्काथं सगुडं पिबेत्॥ *Ibid*-U/39/199-200

Ghṛta, processed with expressed juices of *Drākṣa, Guḍūcī* and *Āmalakī*, is beneficial for treatment of *lāgharaka*-

द्राक्षागुडूच्यामलकीरसैश्च सिद्धं घृतं लाघरके हितं च। *Ibid*-U/44/36

The three type of *doṣika* thirst should be treated by keeping *Āmalakī* powder in mouth.[55] Powders of *Āmalakī, pāthyā*, sugar, parched paddy with *Māgdhī* and *Suṇṭhī* should either be licked with *ghṛta* and honey by one **suffering from cough**.[56]

One desirous of getting **cured of cough** should take powder of *Āmalakī* with milk and cooked in *ghṛta*-

चूर्णं पिबेदामलकस्य वाऽपि क्षीरेण पक्वं सघृतं हिताशी। *Ibid*-U/44/36

For managing *Vātika* type of the hoarseness of voice the patient should take a *ghṛta* prepared from goat's milk processed with *Citraka* and *Āmalakī* along with honey.[57]A regimen of buttermilk with *Āmalakī , Guḍūci* etc. is prescribed in piles.[58] A juice of *Āmalakī* and sugarcane in form of *mantha* (churned drink) is beneficial in case of anaemia.[59] One should take the powder of *Āmalakī* with honey for treating anaemia.[60]*Ghṛta* cooked with juice of *Āmalakī* alleviates fainting.[61] In upward movement of *Vāyu*, juice of *Āmalakī* mixed with water should be taken for three days.[62]

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55 *Ibid*- U/48/17
56 *Ibid*- U/52/16
57 *Ibid* -U/53/11
58 *Ibid*- Ci/6/13
59 *Ibid*-U/44/18
60 *Ibid*-U/44/27
61 *Ibid*-U/46/19
62 *Ibid*-U/55/22

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Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdayam-

Āmalakī is astringent, sweet at the end of digestion, causes dryness, devoid of *lavaṇa* (possesses the remaining five tastes), easily digestible, kindles hunger, helps digestion, improves intelligence, best to maintain youth, hot in potency, laxative, bestows long life, strengthens the mind and the sense organs, cures leprosy & other skin diseases, discolouration, disorders of voice, chronic intermittent fevers, diseases of the head & eyes, anaemia, heart disease, jaundice, disease of the duodenum, consumption, dropsy, diarrhoea, obesity, fainting, vomiting, worms (intestinal parasites), dyspnoea, cough, excess salivation, haermorrhoids. disease of spleen, distension of the abdomen, enlargement of the abdomen, obstruction of channels, abdominal tumours, stiffness of thigh, loss of taste and many other diseases arising from aggravation of *Kapha* and *Pitta*.[63]

विबद्धवर्चाः सयवां पिप्पल्यामलकैः कृताम्।
यवागू सर्पिषा भृष्टां मलदोषानुलोमनीम्॥ *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*-Ci/1/30

For those who have poor digestion and desire sour taste, *mantha*(syrup) prepared from *Dāḍima* and *Āmalakī* should be given-

दाडिमामलकाम्लो वा मन्दाग्म्लाभिलाषिणाम्॥ *Ibid*-Ci/2/15

The patient of cough should drink *ghṛta* processed with *Āmalakī* and boiled milk.[64] For the patient of jaundice, the juice of *Āmalakī* is best for drinking-

कामलार्तानां मृद्वीकामलाद्रसः। *Ibid*-Ci/16/32

Paste made from *Tila, Āmalakī , Padmakiñjala, Madhuka* and honey applied on the head nourishes the hair and gives them black colour-

तिलाः सामलकाः पद्मकिञ्जल्को मधुकं मधु।
बृंहयेद्रञ्जयेच्चैतत् केशान् मूर्द्धप्रलेपनात्॥ *Ibid*-U/24/40-41

Senility in person goes away who take *Āmalakī* juice mixed with honey, sugar and *ghṛta* keeping on wholesome diet-

धात्रीरसक्षौद्रसिताघृतानि हिताशनानां लिहतां नराणाम्।
प्रणाशमायान्ति जराविकरा ग्रन्था विशाला इव दुर्गृहीताः॥ *Ibid*-U/39/149

One who takes powder of *Āmalakī , Viḍaṅga* and *Asana* mixed with oil, *ghṛta*, honey and *lauhabhasma* does not lose youthfulness-

63 *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*-Su/6/153-158
64 *Ibid*-Ci/3/79

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धात्रीकृमिघ्नासनसारचूर्णं सतैलसर्पिर्मधुलोहरेणु।
निषेवमाणस्य भवेन्नरस्य तारुण्यलावण्यमविप्रणष्टम्॥ *Ibid*-U/39/150

Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu-

According to *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu,* it is astringent, pungent, bitter, sour, sweet and has cold potency in nature. It eradicates all the three *doṣas,* increases potency, does away with fever and is tonic-

कषायं कटुतिक्ताम्लं स्वादु चामलकं हिमम्।
सरं त्रिदोषहृद् वृष्यं ज्वरघ्नं च रसायनम्॥

Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu-Guḍūcyādivarga /212

As the fruit of *Āmalakī* is dovetailed with sour juice it cures *Vāta* related diseases, as it is sweet and has cold potency, it is helpful in treating *Pitta* related diseases, as it is arid and astringent it eradicates *Kapha* related diseases. In this way it is helpful in doing away with all the three *doṣas-*

हन्ति वातं तदम्बलत्वात्पित्तं माधुर्यशैत्यतः।
कफं रुक्षकषायत्वात्फलं धात्र्याखिदोषहित्॥ *Ibid,* 213

Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu-

Āmalakī is equal to *Harītakī* in properties and still especially cures bleeding diseases, diabetes, best aphrodisiac and rejuvenator, mitigates *vāta* by its sour taste, *pitta* by its sweet taste and cold potency, *kapha* by dryness and astringent taste, thus fruit of *Āmalakī* mitigates all the three *doṣās-*

हरीतकीसमं धात्रीफलं किन्तु विशेषतः ।
रक्तपित्तप्रमेहघ्नं परं वृष्यं रसायनम्॥
हन्ति वातं तदम्लत्वात्पित्तं माधुर्यशैत्यतः।
कफं रुक्षकषायत्वात्फलं धात्र्याखिदोषजित्॥

Bhāvaprakāśa-Haritakyādi varga/39-40

As *Āmalakī* is similar to *Harītakī* in properties, it is necessary to know its properties. According to *Bhāvaprākāśa* it possesses five tastes, not having salt taste, very astringent, *rūkṣa* (dry), *uṣṇa* (hot in potency), stimulates digestive fire, good for intelligence, sweet at the end of digestion, rejuvenates the body, good for eyes (vision), light (easily digestible), stoutens the body, initiates downward movement (of faeces, flatus, urine etc.), cures dyspnoea, cough, diabetes, haemorrhoids,leprosy (and other skin diseases), dropsy, enlargement of the abdomen, worms, hoarseness, disease of the duodenum, constipation, intermittent, abdominal

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tumour, flatulence, thirst, vomiting hiccup, itching, heart diseases, jaundice colic, tympanitis, diseases of the spleen and liver, renal calculus, dysuria and retention of urin.[65]

Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu-

According to *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu, Āmalakī* is cold in potency. It mitigates *pitta* due to cold and sweet taste. Pungent effect is responsible for mitigation of *kapha;* and sour taste mitigates *vāta*. Thus, it alleviates *tridoṣa*. It is aphrodisiac, beneficial to throat and eye and cardiac. It cures burning sensation and fever. Its marrow alleviates gynaecological disorders, vomiting, *vāta*, *pitta* and thirst. It has astringent and sweet taste and effect respectively. It enhances *śukra*. It alleviates cough, diarrhoea and other ailments and colic type of pain in the abdomen.[66]

Several other *Nighaṇṭu* books including *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*[67], *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu*[68], *Rājanighaṇṭu*[69], *Priyanighaṇṭu*[70], *Kaiyadeva Nighaṇṭu*[71] *etc.* have also come up with medicinal properties of *Āmalakī*.

Agni Purāṇa-

The drugs *Āmalakī , Abhayā, Kṛṣṇa, Vahni, Bilva, Agnimantha, Śyonāka, Kaśmarī* and *Paṭala* used in combination form the best febrifuge and may be safely given in all diseases.[72]

Oil prepared with juice of *Āmalakī should* be taken as snuff in all diseases of the head-

.....तैलं धात्रीरसेऽपि वा।
नस्यं सर्वामयेविष्टं मूर्ध्वजं तूद्भवेषु च॥ *Agni Purāṇa* 279/40

Ghṛta mixed with the juice of *Āmalakī* fruit is the best unguent known for all sort of headaches and diseases of head-

धात्रीफलान्यथाज्यं च शिरोलेपनसुत्तमम्।
शिरोरोगविनाशाय.....॥ *Ibid*-279/43

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65 *Bhāvaprakāśa-Harītakyādi varga*, 19-22
66 *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu* -p 221
67 *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu-Guḍūcyādivarga* /212-213
68 *Madanpāla Nighaṇṭu-Abhayādivarga* /27
69 *Rājanighaṇṭu - Āmrādivarga* /158
70 *Priyanighaṇṭu - Haritakyādivarga* /8-11
71 *Kaiyadeva Nighaṇṭu - Oṣadhivarga* /236-240
72 *Agni Purāṇa* -285/3

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Oil prepared with the essence of *Āmalakī, Bhṛṅga, Yaṣṭhī, Añjana* fruits and an *aḍhaka* measure of thickened milk, would marvellously help the growth of hairs and eye lashes.[73]

Garuḍa Purāṇa -

Āmalakī is sweet, relishing, constructive and aphrodisiac-

सुरमालकं वृष्यं मधुरं ह्यम्ल्कृत्। *Garuḍa Purāṇa*-169/22

Unsalted soup made with *Āmalakī* and Pomegranate improves digestion and destroys the *Vāyu* and *Pitta* disorders-

दाडिमामलकैर्यूषो वह्निकृद्वातपित्तहा। *Ibid*-169/59

Juice made with *Āmalakī* and *Mudga* pulse is astringent and conquers the deranged *Kapha* and *Pitta*-

मुद्गामलकजो ग्राही श्लेष्मपित्तविनाशनः। *Ibid*-169/60

Āmalakī is anti-corpulent in its effect.[74] One who takes *Āmalakī* for a month is sure to get rid of all kind of skin diseases.[75] In the *Pittaja* form of Leucorrhoea the expressed juice of *Āmalakī* seeds pasted with water and sweetened with honey and sugar should be administered. For the alleviation of *Pāṇḍu* type of leucorrhoea a women should take the expressed juice of *Āmalakī* with honey.[76] A decoction of *Āmalakī , Guḍūci* and *Candana* taken with honey proves curative in all forms of fever.[77] *Āmalakī* powder administered through the vehicle of *ghṛta* undoubtedly relieves cough.[78]

A stick made of *Pippalī, Tagara, Haridrā, Āmalakī, Vacā* and *Khadira* pasted together with water and applied to eyes, proves curative in ocular affections-

कटुकं तगरं चैव हरिद्रामलकं वचा।
खदिरा पिष्टवातश्च अञ्जनान्नेत्ररोगनुत्॥ *Ibid*-177/14

A compound consisting of *Pippalī , Ketaka, Haridrā, Āmalakī* and *Vacā* pounded together and applied to the eyes with the addition of milk proves beneficial in all forms of ocular affections-

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73 *Ibid*-302/25
74 *Garuḍa Purāṇa* -170/61
75 *Ibid*-174/24
76 *Ibid*-171 /69-70
77 *Ibid*-175/10
78 *Ibid*-190/29-30

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पिप्पली केतकं रुद्र हरिद्रामलकं वचा।
सर्वाक्षिरोगा नश्येयुः सक्षीरादशनात्ततः॥ *Ibid*-171/69-70

Daily use of a compound of *Nimba* leaves and *Āmalakī* pounded together in the morning undoubtedly cures *Kuṣṭha*-

नित्यं निम्बदलानाञ्च चूर्णमामलस्य च ।
प्रत्यूषे भक्षयेच्चैव तस्य कुष्ठं विनश्यति॥ *Ibid*-190/9

Abhayā, Āmalakī, Drākṣā, Pāṭhā, Vibhītaka and sugar taken in equal parts and internally administered, act as a good febrifuge remedy-

अभयामलकं द्राक्षा पाठा चैव विभीतकम्।
शर्कराया समं चैव जग्धं ज्वरहरं भवेत्॥ *Ibid*-193/12

By taking, for a month powders of *Āmalakī* in combination with honey and oil, a person would verily become a lord of speech-

रुद्रामलकचूर्णं वै मधुतैलान्वितम्।
जग्ध्वा मासं युवा स्याच्च नरो वागीश्वरो भवेत्॥ *Ibid*-202/22

Plasters composed of *Prapunnaṭa* seeds, *Āmalakī , Sarjjarasa* and *Snuhī pasted* together with *Sauvira* wine may be advantageously used in rubbing the patches-

प्रपुन्नाटसुबीजानि धात्री सर्ज्जरसः स्नुही।
सौवीरपिष्टं दद्रूणामेतदुद्वर्तनं परम्॥ *Ibid*-171/20

Powder of *Akṣa* taken through the medium of honey and expressed juice of *Āmalakī,* proves curative in all forms of cutaneous affections. This medicine is also possessed of good rejuvenating efficacy-

साक्षधात्रीरसः क्षौद्रो हन्यात्कुष्ठं रसायनम्॥ *Ibid*-171/25

A decoction of *Āmalakī* and *Khadira* taken with *Valguja* speedily cures even the most obstinate type of leucoderma-

धात्रीखदिरयोः क्वाथं पीत्वा वागुजिसंयुतम्।
शङ्खेन्दुधवलं श्वित्रं हन्ति तूर्णं न संशयः॥ *Ibid*-175/26

Drops of the expressed juice of *Āmalakī* poured into the eyes, allay the local inflammation.[79] Powders of *Āmalakī, Añjana* and *Abhayā* taken with water arrest the catsmenial flow.[80]

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79 *Ibid*-175/54

80 *Ibid*-172/7

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In effect, in traditional Indian medicine dried and fresh fruits of the *Āmalakī* are used. All parts of the plant are used in various *Āyurvedic* medicine herbal preparations, including the fruit, seed, leaves, root, bark and flowers. According to *Āyurveda,* it is a rejuvenating drug which promotes longevity, and traditionally to enhance digestion, treats constipation, reduces fever, purifies blood, reduces cough, alleviates asthma, strengthens the heart, benefits the eyes, stimulates hair growth, and enhances intellect. In *Āyurvedic* polyherbal formulations, Indian gooseberry is a common constituent, and most notably is the primary ingredient in a well renowned ancient herbal drug called *Cyavanaprāśa.*

The fruits are one of the richest and stable sources of vitamin C. They are sour, astringent, bitter, acrid, sweet, cooling, anodyne, ophthalmic, carminative, digestive, stomachic, laxative, alterant, aphrodisiac. rejuvenative, diuretic, antipyretic and tonic. They are useful in vitiated conditions of diabetes, cough, asthma, bronchitis, cephalalgia, ophthalmopathy, dyspepsia, colic, flatulence, hyperacidity, peptic ulcer, erysipelas, skin diseases, leprosy, haematogenesis, inflammations, anaemia, emaciation, hepatopathy, jaundice, strangury, diarrhoea, dysentery, haemorrhages, leucorrhoea, menorrhagia, cardiac disorders, intermittent fevers and greyness of hair.

Though *Āmalakī* has five tastes *(Rasa)* viz sour, sweet, astringent, bitter and pungent, it is predominantly sour and has a sweet post digestive effect and cold potency. It alleviates all the three doṣas. It possesses light, dry and cold attributes.When used externally, it relieves the burning sensation on the skin, and is beneficial to the skin and hair.[81]

Conclusion:

In this way it could be said that *Āmalakī* is full of numerous qualities. It is significant from religious, cultural and medicinal point of view. In effect, this wonder herb is one of the precious gifts of nature to humans. Due to its divine qualities, it is worshipped by Indians. It is helpful in treating various diseases and promoting positive health.

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81 *Indian Medicinal Plants*- p 8

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THE RIDDLE OF THE SARASVATI RIVER•

Michel Danino*

In the *Ṛgveda,* Sarasvati is both a goddess and a river, and the only one to be deified in the Vedic hymns. Yet it disappeared in the post-Vedic era-the only major river to do so in north-west India. As it did, Sarasvati, the goddess of speech, knowledge and the arts, grew in stature and became one of the fountainheads of India's classical civilization. Where was this river flowing and how did it come to occupy such a place in Indian culture?

Praised in the *Ṛgveda* as a 'mighty' river flowing 'from the mountain to the sea' and listed in the *Nadī Stuti* hymn (10.75) between the Yamuna and the Sutlej, the Sarasvati is reported a few centuries later, in several *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* (whose great war is waged in the Kurukshetra region watered by the river and its tributaries), to be disappearing in the desert at a point called Vinashana, a highly revered pilgrimage site. The river went on dwindling down, eventually becoming 'mythical', relocated at the confluence between Ganga and Yamuna as an 'invisible' river-a device that effectively preserved continuity of worship of the river-goddess. Since Vedic times, Sarasvati had been turned into a goddess of inspiration and speech (Danino, 2010).

One persistent popular misconception is that the Sarasvati was 'rediscovered' by satellite imagery in the 1970s. As it happens, the date is wrong by over two centuries. As early as in 1760, a map from The Library Atlas (Bryce. Collier & Schmitz) showed a small stream, 'Soorsuty', joining the 'Guggur' in Punjab (fig. I). In 1778, James Rennell, a noted British geographer and cartographer, included in his Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Mogul Empire the most detailed map or India then available: it showed 'Sursooty' meeting the 'Caggar' or 'Kcnker. The Ghaggar. as it is spelt today, is a seasonal river flowing down from the Shivalik hills: one of its tributaries is indeed a small seasonal stream called 'Sarsuti '. During strong monsoons (as in 2010), the Ghaggar still manages to flow well into Punjab: there

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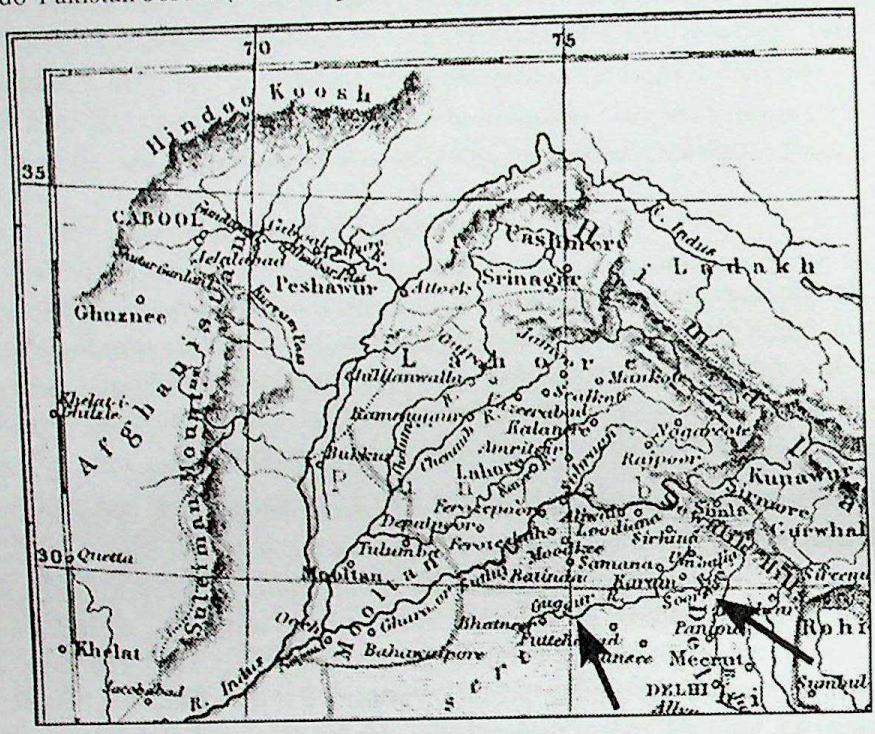
is historical evidence that in the 19th century, it occasionally reached Anupgarh. close to the present Indo-Pakistan border (at which point the river's name changes to 'Hakra').



Fig, I The Sarasvati and the Ghaggar marked by the two arrows in this detail of a 1760 British map, (Courtesy Prof. Frances Pritchett of Columbia University, www.coiumbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00maplinks/coloionial/india 1760-India 1760.html)

In the next century British topographers among them James Tod (in the 1810s), Major Colvin (in 1833) and Major F. Maekeson (in 1844)! - surveyed the bed of the Ghaggar and found it far wider than the paltry waters it carried during monsoons would have required. Those early maps and reports soon reached the noted French geographer Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin, who noticed the corrupt spelling of Sarasvati as well as the Ghaggar's location between the Yamuna and the Sutlej as indicated in the *Rgveda:* combining physical and literary evidences, he was the first scholar to propose, in 1855, that the Ghaggar-Sarasvati system was the relic of the Vedic Sarasvati:

> The trace of the ancient riverbed was recently found, still quite recognizable, and was followed far to the west. [This discovery] confirmed the correctness of the tradition (Vivien de Saint-Martin, 1858:23)

In the next few decades, nearly all Indologists from H.H. Wilson and F. Max Müller to M. Monier-Williams, A.A. Macdonell. A.B. Keith or F.E. Pargiter, and more recently L. Renou,

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A.L. Basham or Jan Gonda, accepted Vivien de Saint-Martin's thesis (Danino, 2010), Geologists such as R.D. Oldham (1886) joined in, followed by geographers such as Shamsul Islam Siddiqi (1944) or Herbert Wilhelmy (1969).

This broad scholarly consensus was reflected in nearly all British maps of the nineteenth century (Figs 2 & 3). Fig. 3 is a detail of a map in Alexander Cunningham's monumental Ancient Geography of India in which he combined data from ancient Indian and Greek texts with the testimonies of Chinese pilgrims to India. The same year, 1871, Cunningham was nominated first director general of the ten-year-old Archaeological Survey of India. And it is indeed the discipline of archaeology that will give, seventy years later an unexpected twist to the saga of the lost river.

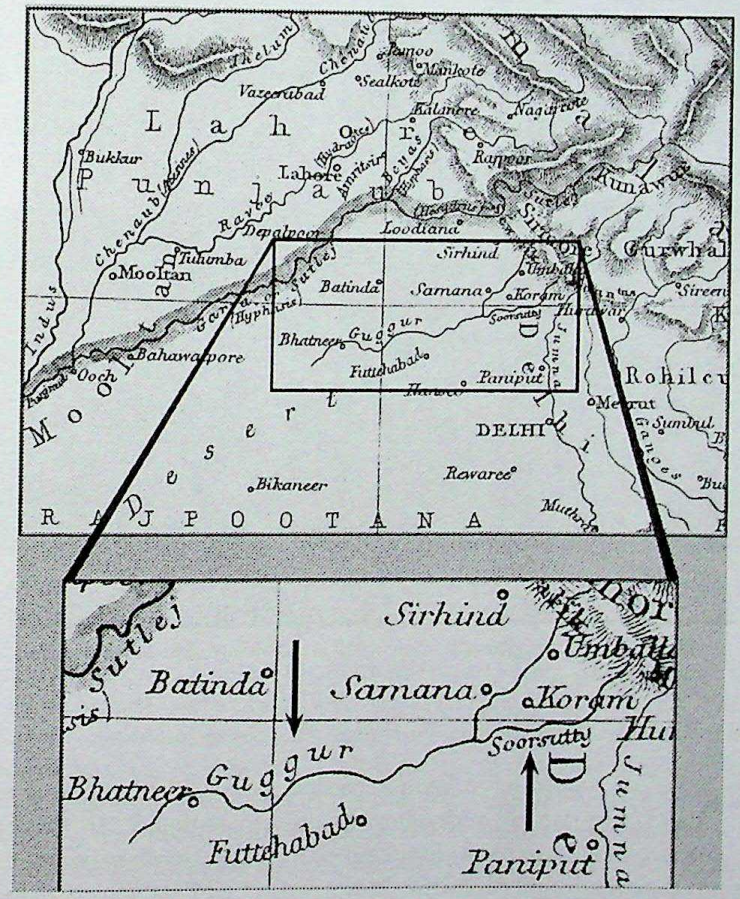

Fig. 2. Detail from a British map of India (from Henry Beveridge. *A Comprehensive History of India. Civil, Military and Social.* Blackie & Son. London.1862).

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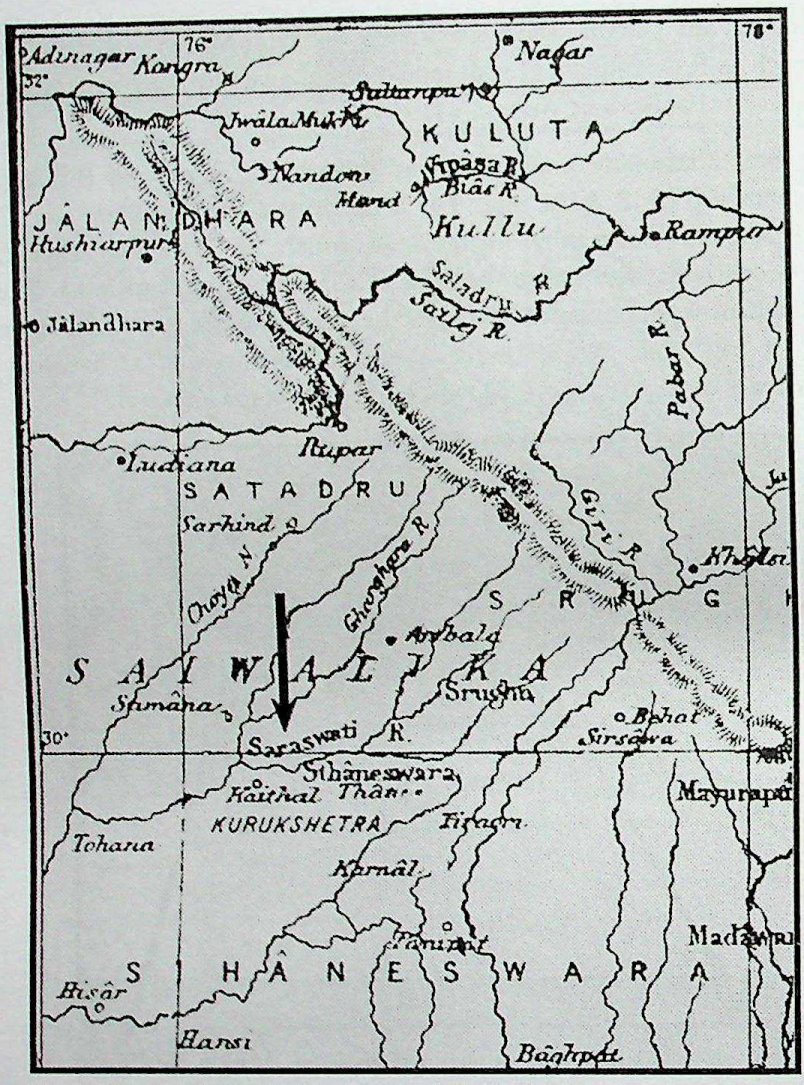

Fig. 3. Detail of Cunningham's map (1871) showing the Sarasvati and neighbouring rivers.

The Sarasvati and the Indus Civilization

The riddle of the Sarasvati would have been regarded as solved long ago if archaeology had not sprung a major surprise by redefining its role in antiquity. In the early 1920s the Bronze Age cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro came to light soon followed by more settlements of the same culture in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan. In 1941, the intrepid explorer and Sanskritist Marc Aurel Stein conducted at the age of 78 an expedition in the then Bikaner and Bahawalpur states: the former is now part of northern Rajasthan, while the latter, todays Cholistan, is an arid region of Pakistan and technically part of the Thar Desert.

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Stein was keen to find out whether the Harappan civilization extended to this region anciently watered by the Sarasvati--for he was among those who had accepted the identification between the Vedic river and the Ghaggar (which continues into Cholistan under the name of 'Hakra'). As an early paper or his makes quite clear (Stein, 1917), the region had long been known to be dotted with numerous ruined settlements and, crisscrossing it on horse and camel back. Stein recognized Harappan culture in several of them (Stein, 1942., 1989); apart from similar pottery types, some of the pottery sherds displayed 'incised characters which appear on many inscribed seals from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.' The Ghaggar-Hakra, in Stein's opinion, was home to 'very numerous prehistoric mounds' (Stein 1942: 180) - that is, going back to the Harappan age.

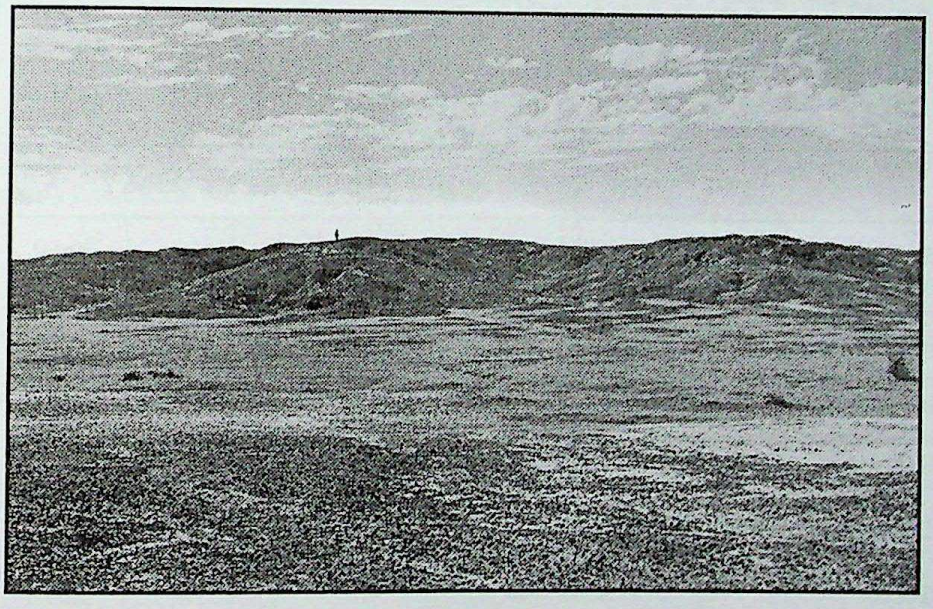

Fig. 4. A view of Kalibangan's mounds from the Ghaggar's bed (photo taken during A. Ghosh's expedition of 1950, courtesy Archaeological Survey of India).

Indeed, in the following decades, further explorations (Fig, 4) took place both in India and Pakistan: in 1951, Amalananda Ghosh identified Harappan culture at Kalibangan and several other sites further upstream; among his followers are Katy F. Dalal, Suraj Bhan, Jagat Pati Joshi, M. Rafique Mughal, R.S. Bisht .... In Cholistan. M. Rafique Mughal identified 363 new sites in 1974, 171 of which belonged to the Mature (or urban) Harappan phase (2600-1900 BCE). All these surveys put together established that the Sarasvati basin was home to at least 360 sites of the Mature - almost a third of the nearly 1.200 known such sites in the totality of the Harappan sphere. Among the larger Harappan cities found in the Ghaggar-Hakra basin are Bhirrana, Rakhigarhi, Kunal or Banawali (all in Haryana), Kalibangan (Rajasthan) or Ganweriwala (Cholistan) (Fig. 5 and Table I: recent surveys by Vivek Dangi, Narender Parmar, Parveen Kumar and Raj Pal in Haryana, Punjab and northern Rajasthan have added a few dozens of sites since this table was prepared).

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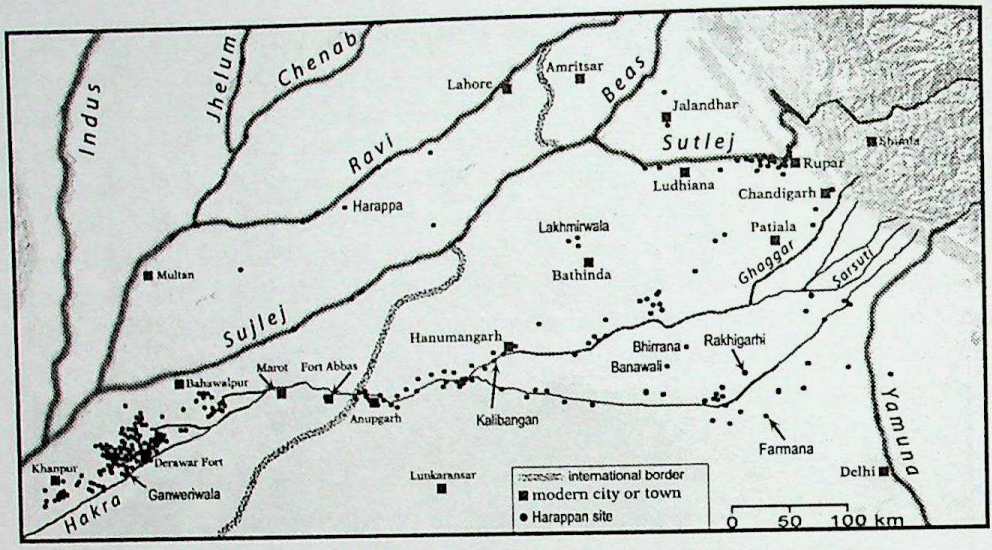

Fig. 5. Mature Harappan sites in the Sarasvati basin (map by Michel Danino)

Sarasvati Basin (east to west)	Early Harappan	Mature Harappan	Late Harappan	Total
Haryana	558	114	1168	**1840**
Indian Punjab	24	41	160	**225**
Rajasthan	18	31	0	**49**
Cholistan (Pakistan)	40	174	50	**264**
Total	**640**	**360**	**1378**	**2378**

Table 1. Distribution of Harappan sites in the Sarasvati basin (Michel Danino, adapted from a list compiled by S.P. Gupta. with inputs, from G. Possehl and M. Rafique Mughal).

Since the Sarasvati, it was now clear, had nurtured the 'Indus' civilization as much as had the Indus, a few archaeologists, beginning with S.P. Gupta in 1989 have proposed the broader term of (Indus-Sarasvati civilization. (It does not however cover all Harappan sites, since Gujarat is also host to some 300 Mature Harappan sites, most of which cannot be said to be in the Sarasvati basin.) For reasons that will become clear in the next section, the term did not really catch on, but the Ghaggar-Hakra's identity as the Sarasvati's relic was accepted by most archaeologists after Stein, including the British M. Wheeler (1968), R. and B. Allehin (1997) and J. McIntosh (2002, 2008), the American G.L. Possehl (1999, 2002) and J.M. Kenoyer (1998), the French J.-M. Casal (1969), the Pakistani A.H. Dani (in Mughal 1997: 11. 12), the Indian A. Ghosh (1952), B.B. Lal (1997, 2002, 2009), S.P. Gupta (1996), V.N. Misra (1994) or Dilip Chakrabarti (2006, 2009).

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The Sarasvati and the Aryan Issue

Despite the broad consensus, a few scholars such as Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib, Shereen Ratnagar, Suraj Bhan or the late R.S. Sharma started in the 1980s questioning this term and the identification between Ghaggar and Sarasvati. What prompted this a posteriori reaction? The pattern of settlements in the Sarasvati basin now revealed that in its central part-roughly southwest Haryana, southern Punjab and northern Rajasthan—most Harappan sites were abandoned sometime around 1900 BCE, a period coinciding with the end of the urban phase of the Indus civilization (Fig. 6). Clearly, the river system collapsed—which archaeologists now see as a contributing factor in the decline of the brilliant Indus civilization.

Why was this a problem? We must remember that the Sarasvati is lavishly praised, both as a river and a goddess, in the *Ṛgveda,* a collection or hymns which mainstream Indology says was composed by Indo-Aryans shortly after their migration to India around 1500 BCE. However, by that time, the Sarasvati had been reduced to a minor seasonal stream: how then could the said Aryans praise it as a 'mighty river', the 'best of rivers', 'mother of waters', etc.? There is a chronological impossibility. Either the hymns were composed much earlier, contradicting mainstream Indology, or, as the objectors now asserted, the Ghaggar-Ḥakra was not, after all, the Sarasvati extolled in the *Ṛgveda.*

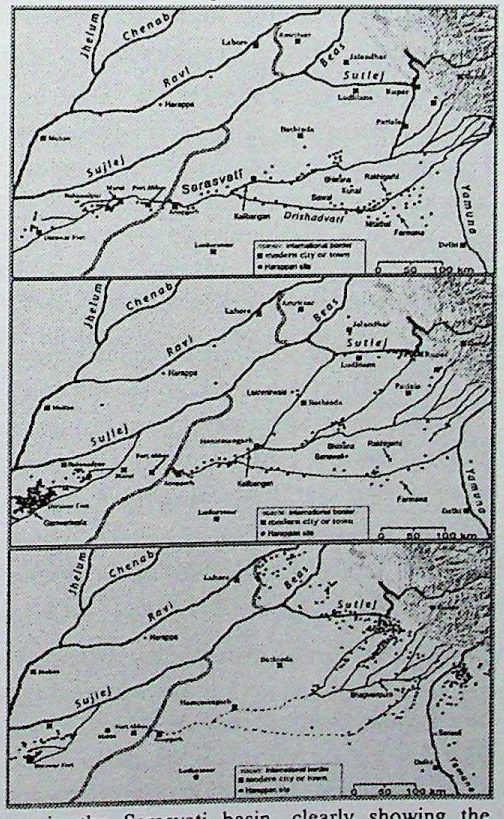

Fig. 6. Settlement pattern in the Sarasvati basin. clearly showing the abandonment in the sites in the central basin from about 1900 BCE (maps by Michel Danino).

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While some of the objectors, such as Rajesh Kochhar (2000) tried to relocate the river in Afghanistan, others like Irfan Habib (2000-01) decided that the Sarasvati was not a articular river, but 'the river in the abstract, the River Goddess' -- in other words, a 'mythical' river. But such theses ran against both the Ṛgveda's own testimony that the river flowed between the Yamuna and the Sutlej, and the realistic descriptions of the river's disappearance in the sands of the desert in subsequent literature such as the Brāhmaṇas or the Mahābhārata, with Vinashana given great prominence among pilgrimage sites.

However, what should have remained a scholarly issue now turned into an ideological and often acrimonious battle: On the one hand, those who stuck to the identity between the Sarasvati and the Ghaggar-Hakra concluded that the composers of the Rig-Vedic hymns must have lived in the region during the 3rd millennium BCE at the latest-but as the only settlements known of that period were Harappan ones, they often held that the Harappans were among the Vedic people; cultural evidence such as a Harappan *swastika*, yogic postures, figurines in *namaste* and more was pressed into service to bridge the Harappan and the Vedic worlds (Danino. 2010: Lal 20(2). On the other hand, scholars who continued to swear by an Aryan immigration in the mid-2nd millennium BCE, and therefore a pre-Vedic Harappan civilization, accused the former of 'chauvinism', 'jingoism', 'false patriotism' or worse, concealing that dozens of Western scholars had, for a century and a half, accepted the same location and identity for the Sarasvati river.

This negationist attitude is all the more bizarre as some of the above objectors (e.g. Thapar, Ratnagar, Bhan) had quite happily accepted the identity between the Ghaggar and the Sarasvati before the date of the latter's desiccation became clear in the 1980s (see Danino 2010 for details).

Recent Research on the Sarasvati

Leaving aside the controversy, several scientific disciplines now have their say. Since the 1970s satellite imagery has proved to be a very useful tool, although by itself it cannot date the numerous buried palaeochannels (ancient waterways) it has brought to light; anyone can today access websites such as Google Earth and view the well-marked bed of the Ghaggar, but this does not tell us when a perennial river last flowed through it, how large it was, and where it drew its waters from. Many satellite studies have been published (to mention only a few recent ones, Bhadra et al., 2009; Danino, 2010: 66-73; Gupta et al., 2011, Rajani & Rajawat, 2011) and I will not go over them again here.

I will instead focus on recent geology and river studies, several of which have thrown new light on the ancient river, though at times with contradictory findings. Thus, in a 2011 article published in *Science*, Andrew Lawler claimed that 'the Ghaggar-Hakra was at most a modest seasonal stream ... from 2500 B.C.E. to 1900 B.C.E.' (Lawler, 2011), that is, at the height of the Harappan civilization. This ran against the notion of a substantial and perennial Sarasvati flowing during mature Harappan times. Lawler referred to independent studies piloted by

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geologists Sanjeev Gupta, Peter Clift (both from U.K.), and Hideaki Maemoku (Japan), which appeared to suggest that the river had largely dried up long before Harappan times.

Lawler's verdict was hasty as well as inaccurate. Two years earlier, Clift had noted that 'between 2000 and 3000 BCE, flow along a presently driedup course known as the Ghaggur-Hakkra River ceased, probably driven by the weakening monsoon and possibly also because of headwater capture into the adjacent Yamuna and Sutlej Rivers' (Clift. 2009). Then, in 2012. Clift's multi-national team dated zircon sand grains from trenches and drilled cores at four sites in Cholistan (the U-Pb dating method they used is a standard one that measures variations in the ratios of isotopes of uranium and lead to date the formation of rocks over millions or even billions of years). By comparing the zircon grains with those from other regions, the geologists concluded that the Yamuna once flowed into the Ghaggar-Hakra, as had often been suggested since the late nineteenth century, but switched eastward tens of thousands of years ago; the Sutlej also contributed to the Ghaggar system but abandoned it 10.000 years ago or earlier. As a result. any drainage capture affecting the Ghaggar system 'appears to have occurred prior to human settlement and not to have directly caused the Harappan collapse' (Clift et al., 2012), Being limited to samples from Cholistan, the paper had to remain non- committal about the time when the Ghaggar itself dried up.

The same year, a study by a team of geoscientists under the direction of Liviu Giosan (with most of its members drawn from the previous study's team) reached slightly more precise conclusions. It rejected the possibility that 'large glacier-fed Himalayan river watered the Harappan heartland on the interfluve between the Indus and Ganges basins': rather. in its view, 'only monsoonal-led rivers were active there during the Holocene' (that is, the last 10.000 years or so), In particular, 'rivers were undoubtedly active in this region during the Urban Harappan Phase', Indeed, the geoscientists found 'sandy fluvial deposits approximately 5.400[years]oldatFort Abbas in Pakistan [in Cholistan] and recent work on the upper Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve in India also documented Holocene channel sands that arc approximately 4,300 [years] old.' (Giosan et al., 2012) In a later comment on the paper, Giosan clarified, 'Our research points to a perennial monsoonal-fed Sarasvati river system with benign floods along its course' (Giosan ct al.. 2013). The Ghaggar-Hakra was thus active during the urban Harappan period. although apparently not (or no longer) fed by glacial sources: it was a monsoon-fed river like rivers of central or southern India: 'Reliable monsoon rains were able to sustain perennial rivers earlier during the Holocene. [which 1 explains why Harappan settlements flourished along the entire Ghaggar-Hakra system without access to a glacier-fed river' (Giosan ct al .. 2012).

The last point remains an object of debate among geologists, with several Indian ones maintaining that the Ghaggar system did have contributions from Himalayan glaciers (Puri & Varma, 1998; Valdiya. 2002, 2013; Puri, 200 1, 2008). We must leave it to them-or. more likely, to the accumulation of new data- Matters, for the moment, is the acknowledgement of a perennial Ghaggar's role in sustaining numerous Harappan urban settlements, and the coincidence between its dwindling down and the withdrawal of Harappan sites from its central basin.

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This is further supported by a 2009 study by H.S. Saini et al., which studied buried channels in the northwestern Haryana Plains and documented 'the existence of channel activity during the mid-Holocene ... in a part of the Haryana plains': by mid-Holocene is meant a 'second fluvial phase ' represented by a palaeochannel segment whose signatures are dated between gh 6.0 and '. 2.9 Ka (Saini et. al., 2009), after which a depleted Ghaggar was left. The dates bracket the Indus civilization.

Finally, a 2013 study directed by the Indian geologist Rajiv Sinha, which mapped palaeo-river sedimentary bodies in the subsurface by measuring their electrical resistivity, since water-bearing sediments having a lower resistivity than dry ones. The study offered 'the first stratigraphic evidence that a palaeochannel exists in the sub-surface alluvium in the Ghaggar valley. The fact that the major urban sites of Kalibangan [Fig. 7] and Kunal lie adjacent to the newly discovered subsurface fluvial channel body ... suggests that there may be a spatial relationship between the Ghaggar-Hakra palaeochannel and Harappan site distribution (Sinha et al .. 2013).

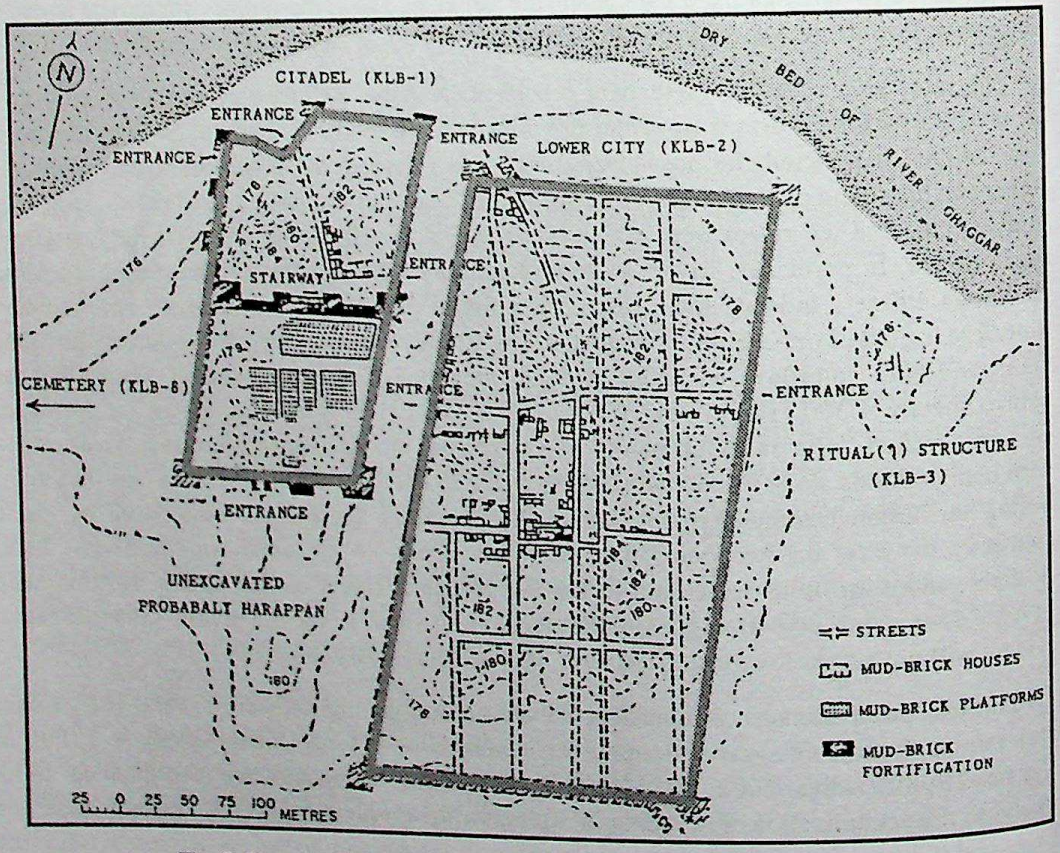

Fig. 7. Plan of Kalibangan (adapted from Archaeological Survey of India)

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Such a conclusion had been reached by archaeologists much earlier, since Kalibangan, for instance, shows no evidence or independent water supply: unlike Mohenjo-Daro, it had very few wells, and unlike Dholavira, no reservoirs, yet it was continually occupied for several centuries: for its water supply through the year, it must therefore have depended on the Sarasvati, on whose left bank it lay, with entries into its fortified enclosures facing the riverbed. Banawali and Bhirrana, too, were built right on the river's bank. Why should the technology-savvy Harappans have taken so much trouble to build cities right on the edge of dried-up rivers (Fig. 7)?

In fact, noticing a break in the settlement pattern in Cholistan, close to the international border (visible on Fig. 6 above, central portion). M. Rafique Mughal suggested in 1993 that the river, which was 'a perennial river through all its course in Bahawalpur during the fourth millennium B.C. (Hakra Period) and the early third millennium B.C. (Early Harappan Period)' (Mughal. 1993: 94), lost a channel from the Sutlej in the west and in the east' the Chautang (or Drishadvati) to the Yamuna system. This, in his estimate, happened between the Early and Mature phases, that is, around 2600 BCE.

Archaeology and geological studies thus appear to converge In depicting an already depleted Ghaggar or Sarasvati during the Mature Harappan phase. Besides, palaeoclimatic studies have in recent years pointed to a weakening of the Indian summer monsoon from 2200 BCE onward (for a survey, see Danino, 2015). It seems clear that the long drought that followed contributed to the final break-up of the Sarasvati, although other causes such as river dynamics and tectonics cannot, at this stage, be ruled out.

As regards the 'controversy' surrounding the Vedic river, allowing for some metaphorical inflation in the Vedic hymns, nothing in the recent research contradicts the river's break-up and gradual extinction as recorded in India's ancient literature. We are thus back to the original problem: If we accept the Vedic hymns' description of a river flowing from the mountain to the sea and located between the Yamuna and the Sutlej. the Ghaggar remains the sole candidate: but as we now know. this description can only apply to the 3rd millennium BCE or earlier, an epoch that does not fit with the conventional scenario of a 2nd-millennium Aryan migration into India.

From Sarasvati to Ganga

In the meantime, two lessons flow from the river's disappearance. The first is that it forced migrations of Harappans in several directions, in particular eastward, crossing Ganga and mingling with agrarian communities long established in the Gangetic plains. The Late Harappans, as they are called, reverted to rural lifestyles but carried some of their culture with them, which explains the transmission of a host Harappan cultural features, symbols, practices and technologies to the later Ganga-Vindhya civilization. Besides, Indological studies have shown that the Sarasvati's sacredness and her attributes as a goddess were transmitted to Ganga in the course of centuries.

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Secondly, it is now clear that climatic and environmental disruptions played a major part in the break-up of the Indus civilization. No one can deny anymore that we are now undergoing another major climatic change: a just published study predicts that at least 70 per cent of the volume of Himalayan glaciers in the Everest region may disappear by the end of this century. With human interference (deforestation, excessive damming, etc.) compounding the problem, there have been warnings that Ganga and the Brahmaputra may turn into seasonal rivers even before. This may spell the end of the 3,000-year-old Ganges civilization in its mother-region. We must hope that mitigating steps will be urgently taken to save Ganga from becoming another Sarasvati.

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કોમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કોમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. અસ્વીકૃત લેખો પરત મોકલવામાં આવશે નહીં.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **શ્વેતા પ્રજાપતિ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ..... રૂા. ૧૫૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઓફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૫૦.૦૦ ડૉલર વાર્ષિક (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.
ફોન નં: ૦૨૬૫-૨૪૨૫૧૨૧

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VERNACULAR SANSKRIT AND REGIONAL LITERARY CULTURE IN THE *SARASVATĪPURĀṆA*

Elizabeth M. Rohlman*

Many South Asian literary genres bear witness to an intimate connection between place and text, but this connection is perhaps most intimate, and most extensive, in puranic literature. Mahāpurāṇas describe, praise, and mythologize the origins of various sacred locations of India, sometimes conveying remarkably detailed accounts of their surrounding regions. Kunal Chakrabarti defines the entire sub-genre of Upapurāṇas as inherently regional literature, claiming that they "are so overwhelmingly regional in their concerns, catering as they did to local requirements, that they can be identified with a particular locale with a fair degree of certainty."[1] Yet the manuscript record of South Asia undermines Chakrabarti's contention that Upapurāṇas (or, for that matter, Mahāpurāṇas) are entirely limited to a regional status. While it is indeed certain that the Bengal Purāṇas of Chakrabarti's research were initially composed to express an explicitly Bengali vision to an intentionally Bengali audience, extant manuscripts of virtually all of the Upapurāṇas composed in medieval Bengal are found throughout the sub-continent. This speaks to a transformation at some point in the texts' history to a region transcending text with audiences of diverse geographical dispersal.[2]

Beyond the geographical imagination that figures prominently in the pan-Indic Mahā and Upapurāṇas, an extensive corpus of *sthala-purāṇas* and Māhātmyas embodying the traditions of specific regions developed throughout the medieval period. These Purāṇas were not only composed by and for a specific regional population, but manuscript findings suggest that many of these texts circulated only within their region of origin. The issue of language choice makes short work of establishing the historical provenance of many regional *sthalapurāṇas;* regional puranic-literature appears in Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Nepali, and Marathi, for example. In the case of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa,* however, the issue is more complex. Unlike

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1. Chakrabarti, p. 49

2. Consider, for example, the wide dispersal of several presumably Bengali Upapurāṇas attested to in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (Madras: University of Madras, 1949 onward), and the fact that many of the earliest manuscripts of the Bengali Upapurāṇas were famously 'discovered' at the Durbar Library in Nepal at the turn of the twentieth century by Haraprasad Shastri.

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many regional puranic texts of India, the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is not composed in the vernacular language indigenous to its region of origin.[3] In fact, very few extant Purāṇas of Gujarat were either composed in or translated into Gujarati before the twentieth century, despite a rich and growing tradition of literary composition in Gujarati from the twelfth century onward. The reasons that the Purāṇas of Gujarat are composed predominantly in Sanskrit are lost to history. A variety of factors could explain this convention: local literary practices regarding genre and language, the appropriation of Sanskrit as an alternative vernacular into a polyglossic literary culture or textual aspirations to trans-regional authority. It is this issue of language that makes the Gujarat Purāṇas notable among other regional puranic literature.

The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is one such regional Purāṇa composed and read exclusively in the Gujarat region of western India. But, how it is related to the specific region of Gujarat, or, as is more appropriate to the era of the texts origin, the *Gurjara-maṇḍala* or *Gurjaradeśa,* is not immediately obvious. How, exactly, is the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* a more region-specific text than the "overwhelmingly regional" Upapurāṇas? Like its vernacular-language counterparts from other regional puranic traditions, the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* appears, in its earliest recension, to have circulated exclusively in its region of origin. This connection is established through one of the few surviving sources of evidence for the text's pre-modern history: the manuscript record.[4] This article will explore the linguistic evidence conveyed by the extant *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* manuscripts as an avenue of placing the text within a well-defined regional context.

Language and Region

While the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is composed in the decidedly trans-regional Sanskrit language, the linguistic nature of the text also belies its regional origins. The text is written in the style of puranic Sanskrit often labelled "careless" or "bad" Sanskrit by Orientalist scholars.[5] Setting such judegments of quality aside, the regional character of the Purāṇas of Gujarat is apparent from the broadest categories of scholarly discussion about the texts to detailed conventions of spelling and grammar employed within the texts. The very categories employed in discussing regional Purāṇas in Gujarat reflect the extent to which vernacular convention

3. There are, perhaps, more Māhātmyas devoted to sites of "regional" interest composed in Sanskrit than there are *sthala-purāṇas*. The most obvious examples are the Māhātmyas devoted to Varanasi. I would argue that, in their function and provenance, these texts are more similar to the Upapurāṇas of Bengal than to the Māhātmya literature written in the various vernacular languages, for two reasons. These Sanskrit Māhātmyas actually do constitute portions of larger, pan-Indic Mahāpurāṇas, and they are devoted to sites recognized central and important *tirthas* by religious traditions throughout the sub-continent. For this reason, Varanasi (or Kāśī) often serves as the standards to regional sacred sites are compared in regional puranic literature. On Māhātmya literature relating to Varanasi, see Diana Eck, "Sanskrit Sources for the Study of Varanasi," *Purāṇa* 22 (1980): 81-101.

4. See Rohlman 2010.

5. See, for example, Keith, pp. 1028-29.

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influenced these texts. The term "*jñātipurāṇa*" reflects a vernacularization of the Sanskrit "*jātipurāṇa,*" and yet it is the accepted nomenclature within oral and textual Sanskrit discourse in Gujarat even today. The pronunciation of Sanskrit words in Gujarat also betrays a distinctly regional language use, employing conventions that are common not only to Gujarat but to areas of Maharashtra as well. Thus, one systematically hears Sanskrit scholars in Gujarat pronounce the vocalic "ṛ" as "ru," elide the pronunciation of long in favour of that of short vowels, and drop the final "a" or "ā" from Sanskrit words in the style of modem Gujarati. Of course, regional conventions in pronouncing Sanskrit throughout the subcontinent are well known; David Shulman and Yigal Bronner write of regional texts like the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* that "Nearly all 'regional' Sanskrit texts show evidence of local linguistic materials, from the purely phonological stratum to morphology, lexis and syntax."[6] Having briefly touched on the issues of phonology and morphology, the following section will continue to consider such examples, as well as those of lexis and syntax, in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa.*

To clarify, the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa,* and the other Purāṇas of Gujarat, do not provide adequate quantifiable evidence for linguistic influence of the vernacular on the Sanskrit used in the region.[7] Rather, they demonstrate a pronounced and unique style of Sanskrit composition that bears similarities to the vernacular Gujarati language. From these similarities, one might argue, at the very least, that the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa's* authors, and indeed the author(s) of the other Gujarat Purāṇas, used Gujarati as their first language, or related to it as their "mother tongue," as would be said in contemporary India. The literary culture of medieval Gujarat was clearly multi-lingual. In addition to Sanskrit and Gujarati, it is likely that many authors of literary texts had some capacity for writing or reading Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa as well. While the extent to which each of these languages, especially Apabhraṁśa, were actually used is unclear, it is clear from grammatical texts, such as those composed by Hemacandra, that the three classical languages were conceived of as vehicles for literary practices, and that vernacular Gujarati was beginning to be used to this end as well. That the polyglossic nature of writers and composers in medieval Gujarat influenced their style of composition is a common-sense assumption. That a community of authors, with the shared mother-tongue of Gujarati, writing in Sanskrit would engage in similar patterns of regionally stylistic writing appears equally likely. This suggests that the copious regional and puranic literature that has been debased by centuries of scholarship as simply "bad" Sanskrit are neither products of incompetent authors nor accidents of literary ignorance, but in fact represent regional styles that were intentionally employed by authors.

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6. Bronner and Shulman, p. 6.

7. The notion of a vernacularized Gujarati Sanskrit or a regional 'dialect' is taken up below. Linguistic support for any claims of a regional dialect would require extensive research into a vast array of texts composed in Gujarat in multiple languages. Such research is simply not available at this time.

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The Sanskrit of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* and the other Purāṇas[8] from Gujarat

The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is composed as a narrative in the form of a dialogue, written in the *śloka* meter that characterizes much of puranic literature. Many linguistic conventions of the text are common to the form of Sanskrit found in the epics and Purāṇas.[9] It is also marked, however, by a number of peculiarities that are not found in Sanskrit of Purāṇas that enjoy a pan-Indic readership. These peculiarities appear in the use of case endings, verbal structures and moods, spelling conventions, and the use of vocabulary and idiom.[10]

With respect to the irregular use of case endings, there are several instances in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* where one case ending is substituted for another, more common syntactical choice. Below are examples of such substitutions.

1. Locative replacing the accusative of place:

ऐरावतं समारुह्य सत्ववान् प्रस्थितो रणे ।
गंधर्वगेयध्वनिभिः नृत्यद्भिः चाप्सरो गणैः ।।३२।।[11]

Having mounted Airāvata, the strong one (Indra), endowed with courage, set forth towards the battle with flocks of *apsarā* dancers and *gandharva* singers.

2. Locative replacing the dative:

तत्कपालं पुनस्तस्य ग्रंथिकस्य महात्मना ।।१३०।।
मुंडिना ब्राह्मणे दत्तं तेनापि सलिले धृतं ।।[12]

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8. I am indebted to Late Prof. R. I. Nanavati for his guidance in identifying Gujarati influences on the Sanskrit of this text:
Throughout this article, my citations from the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* are drawn from two copies of the text unless otherwise noted: the *Vaiṣṇava* Recension as it is preserved in the Bombay City Press Edition (referred to in notes as BCP), and the *Śaiva* Recension as it is preserved in the written transcript donated to the B.J. Institute of Indology by S. K. Dave (referred to in notes as Dave). These two copies offer the clearest text and the most consistently numbered verses, allowing for clearer and more consistent citation. In general, all material that is shared by both recensions is cited from the Bombay City Press (BCP) edition, All Sanskrit verses are presented exactly as they appear in the manuscripts; I have not "corrected" the text, but have instead opted to preserve the irregularities of the specific manuscripts.
9. See Salomon 1986 and Pathak.
10. It should be noted here that this article outlines only some examples of the most common variants in the Sanskrit of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*. A more detailed linguistic analysis of the text, though certainly necessary, is beyond the scope of this arlicle.
11. BCP 1:32
12. Dave 14:130-131.

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The alms-bowl of the astrologer was given by the great *Muṇḍi* to the Brahmin, and it was kept in water by him.

In the first example, the destination of the battle is marked by the locative case rather than the accusative of place, while the recipient of the alms-bowl in the second example is marked by the locative, rather than the dative case. These conventions appear in other Sanskrit texts from Gujarat, as well.[13]

3. Instrumental replacing locative:

विमानैः सूर्यसङ्काशैरारूढास्ते सुरोत्तमाः ।
निहन्तुमसुरान् सर्वान्वीर्यमाश्रित्य संस्थिताः ।।५७।।[14]

Those best of gods, having taken recourse to their own strength, mounted upon air-chariots that shone like the sun, were gathered there to kill all the demons.

In this example, the instrumental is used in place of the locative to refer to the *vimāna,* "air-chariots," on which the gods are mounted. These instances may represent a conflation of the locative and instrumental, reflecting the fact that the Gujarati ergative case, which conveys the sense of the agentive instrumental, takes the same case ending as the locative.[15]

4. Instrumental replacing ablative:

करोति तीर्थगमनं स नरः पातकी भवेत् ।
भल्लीतीर्थं महत्तत्र सर्वत्र जगति श्रुतं ।
पापेन मुच्यते स्नातः मर्दमालस्य दर्शने ।।३१।।[16]

The man who is a great sinner and who goes to *tīrthas,* (especially) the very important Bhallītīrtha, which is heard of everywhere in the world; (he) who has bathed (there) along with (obtaining) the *darśana* of Mardamāla[17] freed from sins.

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13. Thakar 1997, p. 52.
14. BCP 1 :57.
15. On the complexity of ergative uses in Gujarati, Hook and Modi.
16. BCP 27:31.
17. While the text reads *"Mardamāla,"* it may in fact be referring to *Kardamāla,* which is placed near a Bhallatīrtha in the *Skandapurāṇa.* Mardamāla is a village in the district of Koraput in Orissa.

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5. Ablative replacing instrumental:

गीतनृत्यविनोदेन नीत्वा तां शर्वरीं तथा ।
प्रभाते पुनरुत्थाय मघवा प्रस्थितो बलात् ।।३९।।[18]

Having passed that night with the enjoyment of song and dance thus, (and) having risen again in the morning, Indra advanced with the army.

In these examples, the instrumental *pāpena* is used to express the phrase "freed from sins" and the ablative *balāt* is used in the associative instrumental sense of "with the army." This may reflect a tendency to conflate the ablative and instrumental cases, which can take the same case ending, *thī,* in Gujarati. It is noteworthy that example four also seems to illustrate an instance where the locative is replacing the instrumental with the word *darśane,* a convention that is also found in other Sanskrit texts from Gujarat.[19]

The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* also provides some evidence of vernacular influence through idiomatic uses of vocabulary, colloquialisms, and spelling conventions. With respect to idiomatic vocabulary and syntax, two syntactical conventions reflect a regional style of Sanskrit in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*. One of the most widespread vernacularized constructions found in the text is use of the optative mood to express the present tense. Another stylistic convention of the text is regular use of constructions employing the auxiliary verb √*kṛ*. This verbal structure represents a Gujarati syntactical structure used to this day, in which a nominalized verb is followed by an auxiliary verb, most often in the present tense form of *kare che,* or the imperative form of *karo cho*. Both of these constructions–the use of the optative mood to express the present tense and the use of √*kṛ* as an auxiliary verb-are employed in example four above. Spellings that reflect the misuse of the vowel *ī* are common throughout all of the manuscripts, reflecting the fact that *i* and *ī* are used nearly interchangeably in Gujarati. Occasionally Gujarati words grace the text, especially with respect to proper nouns, so that the river Tāpti is referred to by its vernacular name, the Tāpī.[20] There are also a number of places where contemporary Gujarati Sanskritists read phrases as Gujarati idiom.[21] However, a detailed examination of such instances of vocabulary and idiom in comparison to the style

18. BCP 1:39.

19. Thakar 1997, p. 52.

20. Dave 17:65. A full account of Gujarati vocabulary employed in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is beyond the scope of this article.

21. See, for example Dave 4:45 12:72, 12:258-59, 18B:47; and BCP I : I 0, 12:85, 12:99, 16:73. Late Professor R. I. Nanavati, conversations with the author at Vadodara, Gujarat, May 2005, April 2006 passim. See also Thakar 1997, p. 60.

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of Old Gujarati that was contemporary to the composition of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is needed to support these readings.

The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*, with all of its irregularities, is not an isolated exemplar of poorly written Sanskrit from Gujarat. Rather, the text and its peculiar characteristics speak to a regional style of Sanskrit employed in medieval Gujarat. Sanskrit of this style is found in other Purāṇas and Māhātmyas of Gujarat as well. In his edition and translation of the *Viśvāmitrī -māhātmya*, Jayant Thakar carefully catalogues the occurrence of Gujarati structures in the text. His enumeration of the vernacular examples in the Sanskrit of the *Viśvāmitrīmāhātmya* covers many irregular declensions and verbal structures similar to those found in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*, including the substitution of locative for the accusative of place,[22] the use of the instrumental as the ablative,[23] the substitution of the locative for the dative,[24] the use of the locative for the instrumental,[25] verbal structures employing the auxiliary verb[26], and common use of the optative mood to express the present tense.[27] Thakar's analysis of what he calls a "colloquial influence" of Gujarati on the Sanskrit of the *Viśvāmitrīmāhātmya* considers many of these irregularities the product of confusion caused by the similarities between the case endings for the agentive/ergative and the locative and between the instrumental and ablative in Gujarati. He also attributes many irregularities in declension, verbal structures, and vocabulary to the influence of Gujarati syntax.[28] It should be noted, however, that Thakar himself is comparing the Sanskrit of the *Viśvāmitrīmāhātmya*, a text which he dates to the sixteenth century;[29] to contemporary Gujarati syntax. As stated above, a thorough linguistic examination of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is needed in order to carefully compare the language of the text to Old Gujarati.

On Vernacular Sanskrit(s)

Thakar was not the first scholar to notice this particularly regional style of composition in Sanskrit texts from Gujarat, nor are such stylistic observations unique to the purāṇas from Gujarat. In early 1920s, Johannes Hertel published several editions of Sanskrit texts from

22. Thakar 1997, p. 52 note b and p. 60 note a
23. *Ibid.*, p. 52 note h
24. *Ibid.*, p. 52 note e
25. *Ibid.*, p. 52 note i
26. *Ibid.*, p. 60 note i
27. *Ibid.*, note h
28. *Ibid.*,p. 60
29. *Ibid.*,p. 64

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early medieval Gujarat in which he addressed the influence of Old Gujarati in the language of the texts. Hertel acknowledged the vast vocabulary found in Gujarati Sanskrit that is not found in Sanskrit from other regions.[30] He noted, too, that European editors of Sanskrit texts often omitted from their editions stanzas and prose passages they found unintelligible, assuming the text to be corrupt or incorrect. With reference to editions of the *Śukasaptati* by Schmidt and Pischel, he wrote of the omitted passages that "all these stanzas together with some prose sentences are simply written in Old Guajarati, and that almost all of them, despite the blunders they contain, owing with this vernacular, are easily to be restored and to be translated."[31] Hertel was equally critical of the approach to region-specific vocabulary, and the practice whereby editors "'corrected,' i.e., destroyed, their texts."[32] He argued that region-specific vocabulary and syntax were natural occurrences in a language spoken for millennia across numerous polyglossic cultures, and concluded that the same must be true of Sanskrit from other regions of India, as well.[33]

Thus, Hertel asserted, "there is no such thing as standard Sanskrit... from the standpoint of the truly scientific philologist."[34] From this, he argued for expanded study of regional Sanskrit texts in relation with their respective vernaculars, and for the production of "truly critical editions," that were

> ... not the texts arranged and corrected by the commentators according to the rules of the grammarians and of the rhetoricians, but the texts of the authors themselves, freed from the immense mass of conjectural emendations, and interpolations; and alterations of every kind, in which they are presented to us in the current editions.[35]

Hence, his interest in "*Jaina*" Sanskrit, which he argued was not the product of a religious sect but a regional language and culture, preserved in the abundant literary productions of Jain communities in medieval Gujarat.[36] Clearly, while Hertel championed the 'truly scientific' practice of philology, his ultimate goal was to rescue regional Sanskrit, or what he called "colloquial" Sanskrit, from the condemnation and dismissal of scholars.

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30. Hertel 1922, pp. 16-17
31. *Ibid.*, p. 23
32. *Ibid.*, p. 17
33. *Ibid.*, p. 17
34. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 22. To this day, there has been insufficient research to determine how uniform the conventions of Jain Sanskrit texts and other Sanskrit texts from Gujarat are.

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Unfortunately, few Sanskritists have adopted Hertel's generous attitude towards vernacularized Sanskrit. Many have, however, acknowledged the "colloquial" (often, in their words, "corrupt") influence in regional puranic literature. Kunal Chakrabarti deems the Bengal Purāṇas the first significant Sanskrit texts to be composed in Bengal, and notes that they are often described as being composed in "highly incorrect Sanskrit."[37] Before Chakrabarti, R. C., Hazra catalogued the influences of Bengali on the *Devīpurāṇa*. Quizzically, Hazra singles out the Sanskrit of the *Devīpurāṇa* for criticism, writing that "unlike all other works of puranic literature, (the *Devīpurāṇa*) is written in highly incorrect Sanskrit."[38] The oddity of this observation aside, many of the "vernacular" influences Hazra finds in the *Devīpurāṇa* are similar in nature to those found in Sanskrit compositions from Gujarat. Hazra notes the use of vernacular versions of proper names, changes in long and short vowels to follow Bengali conventions, declensions following Bengali, rather than Sanskrit, convention, and vocabulary and syntactical structures borrowed from the vernacular.[39]

Beyond the corpus of regional texts with varying vernacular influences, puranic Sanskrit as a whole is considered by some to be of a colloquial or vernacularized nature. Richard Salomon has argued, based on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa,* that puranic Sanskrit itself represents a dialect of colloquial, or "vernacular" Sanskrit. Indeed, some of the grammatical conventions he cites as typical of the puranic dialect are found in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa,* such as the use of the genitive to substitute for the instrumental or ablative cases.[40] Like Hertel, Salomon is responding in part to conceptions of the language of the Purāṇas as simply "bad" Sanskrit. The language of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa,* he argues, is "not Sanskrit ... but rather is a Sanskrit dialect with a distinct and controlled set of ... variants, such that it can be defined and given a grammar of its own."[41] Salomon also notes that the vernacular Sanskrit of the Purāṇas is not in itself a fixed or uniform language, but "a spectrum of vernacularisms."[42] There is not yet sufficient evidence from the Purāṇas from Gujarat or the scarce scholarship on them to determine that they constitute a dialect of distinct and controlled grammatical variants. Given the vernacularized nature of puranic Sanskrit as a whole, however, it is certainly plausible, even probable, that puranic language became more vernacularized as it became more region-specific.

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37. Chakrabarti 2001, pp. 299-300.
38. Hazra 1963, p. 79.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 85-90.
40. Salomon 1986, 41; BCP 1:8.
41. Salomon 1986, p. 47.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 49. For more on Salomon's view of vernacular Sanskrit, see Salomon 1985. See also Van Daalen.

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Why Sanskrit ?

We are left, then, with a text and a language that are at once region-specific and region-transcending. Why write a text in Sanskrit if not for trans-regional purposes? Yet, why vernacularize the text if it is not of exclusively regional significance? In short, the question becomes: why Sanskrit? When facing this same question with respect to the Bengal Purāṇas, Kunal Chakrabarti opts for the obvious answer, "the legitimizing status of Sanskrit.[43] He sees the Sanskrit medium as a means of both establishing and maintaining the authority of this emerging puranic tradition. What Charkrabarti considers the newly developed brahmanical traditions of the Bengal Purāṇas had to contend with the Buddhist tradition, and therefore both rejected the non-Sanskrit media that had come to identify that tradition and claimed a higher authority by asserting their own relationship to the perfected language of Sanskrit. The *brāhmaṇas* behind the traditions of the Bengal Purāṇas could maintain dominance through the same linguistic means, through restricted access to the Sanskrit language.[44]

Chakrabarti's approach may hold some relevance for the case of the Gujarat Purāṇas. Certainly, the religious visions expressed in texts such as the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* had to contend for authority and influence with the thriving Jain communities and monastic institutions of medieval Gujarat. In the case of Gujarat, the regional puranic tradition was not rejecting the language of its chief religious rivals, but rather embracing it. In the face of the overwhelming quantity and quality of Jain literary production and the influence of Jain literati in the royal courts, perhaps newly developed or expressed religious ideologies could be composed in nothing less than the Sanskrit language. But it is unclear whether the highly vernacularized Sanskrit of a text such as the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* really can be placed, let alone compete for authority, in the same realm as the literary Sanskrit of the medieval Gujarati courts.

If we consider the earliest possible composition of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa,* the court of Siddharāja Jaysingh, we are faced with an entirely different realm of Sanskrit literary production that would have been contemporary to the production of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*. In his extensive history of Sanskrit as a cosmopolitan language, Sheldon Pollock places the court of Siddharāja squarely within the Sanskrit cosmopolis. This court exemplified the integration of literary and political power that Pollock describes as a defining function of the Sanskrit cosmopolis. Siddharāja himself commissioned a great grammar of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa by the celebrated Jain author and court poet Hemacandra (1089-1172), in an attempt to emulate and surpass the grammar of the great tenth-century King Bhoja, whose kingdom Siddharāja

43. Chakrabarti 2001, p. 270.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-272.

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conquered.[45] This was an act not of the regional literary space, but of participation in the cosmopolitan world-at-large. Pollock writes of Siddharāja's grammar:

> The sphere and nature of Jayasiṃha's political project are entirely different. It is the vast Sanskrit cosmopolitan space that is his realm of concern, and the king spares no expense to reproduce the grammar and thereby ensure that it can circulate across this space–something unthinkable for any but the three languages of literature. The *Siddhahemacandra* was a grammar for the large world, not just the smaller world of Gujarat where it was produced ... as Jayasiṃha himself declares, the new grammar is meant to confer royal glory upon the king, as it confers scholarly renown upon the grammarian ...[46]

The vernacularized Sanskrit of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* represents a different sphere of Sanskrit literary production than the larger-than-life, certainly larger-than-Gujarat, literary and political ambition of Siddharaja as described by Pollock. This alternate sphere of Sanskrit usage speaks to the diversity of literary convention and usage associated with Sanskrit in medieval Gujarat. This diversity is reflective of the plurality of milieus in which Sanskrit literature was produced; *sthala-purāṇas,* for example, were historically far more likely to be produced in a temple or *maṭha* than in a royal court.[47] It may also be reflective of changing practices of Sanskrit usage under the influence of an emerging vernacular literary culture.

The vernacularized Sanskrit of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* and the classically cosmopolitan language of the Solanki court's most celebrated poet are as different in function as they are in form. For, while the Sanskrit of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* constitutes an assertion of authorial parity with other Sanskrit works, and even with pan-Indic literary traditions, it is not a language intended to participate in the larger world of the Sanskrit cosmopolis through courtly circulation outside of its region of origin. This vernacularized language speaks to an emerging culture of regional literary production. But, if this new literary scene was explicitly local, it was by no means simple or provincial. It was a literary world in which the local constituted a richly textured realm of multiple literary languages. Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman describe a similar literary scene from which the *cāṭu* poetry of South India developed:

> ... this community within which *cāṭus* circulated and were generated was a multilingual one ... Language boundaries were porous, and *cāṭu* verses moved easily from one language to another. Thus we find Sanskrit versions of Telugu

45. Pollock 2006, pp. 180-181.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

47. Velcheru Narayana Rao, discussion with the author, Madison, Wisconsin, February 2007.

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> and Tamil *cāṭus*, and vice versa. This is a period in which Sanskrit is often borrowing from regional languages. While there are instances and contexts in which Sanskrit serves as an instrument of legitimation and prestige, in the case of the *cāṭu* world, at least, Sanskrit is simply one more possible vehicle for *cāṭu* poetry, not necessarily superior in any sense to the regional languages.[48]

Given that virtually no extant Purāṇas of Gujarat were translated into Gujarati before the late nineteenth century, the multilingual literary realm of Gujarat was perhaps less porous, or at least porous in different ways, than that of the *cāṭu* poetry of South India. Perhaps in the absence of Gujarati, or even Prakrit, equivalents to the Gujarat Purāṇas the entire genre of Purāṇa and Māhātmya literature was, by convention, composed in this newly-emergent vernacularized Sanskrit. Whether the language of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* is reflective of its locus of production, of conventions of genre within Gujarati literary culture, or, as Narayana Rao and Shulman argue, of a newly developed role of Sanskrit as one of many vehicles for vernacular, regional literary production, the linguistic style of the text represents an intentional choice on the part of the text's author(s).

Such a literary scene, in which authors choose from among multiple "trans-regional" and "regional" languages, reflects a set of literary practices that were common throughout India during the second millennium. These are practices that challenge common assumptions about the status of influence of the pan-Indic languages in relation to regional vernaculars. Yigal Bronner and David Shulman write of the mutual influence of Sanskrit and vernacular literary languages in southern India:

> In broader socio-linguistic terms, we might ask ourselves to what extent these linguistic entities that we think of as so neatly bounded and distinct–Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, etc.-were truly separate in the minds of those who used them ... in a polyglossic environment, in which Sanskrit is one more available option for literary production and in which the vernacular has internalized huge chunks of Sanskrit just as Sanskrit has absorbed significant patterns and modes of the vernacular, how are we to understand the dynamics of the linguistic spectrum underlying a poet's choice of language?[49]

The extant literature in multiple languages, and especially in varying styles of Sanskrit, certainly suggests a context and range of language choices for the authors of Gujarat similar

48. Rao and Shulman, pp. 186-7.

49. Bronner and Shulman, p. 7.

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to those described by Bronner and Shulman, and presents the same challenging questions. The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* was not composed in the cosmopolitan Sanskrit of Hemacandra or the Prakrit that was the literary choice of so many Jain authors, nor was it composed in the Old Gujarati that was emerging as a new literary force. But to believe that its author(s) were ignorant of, or lacked access to, these other literary languages is misguided. The Solanki court of Siddharāja, in particular, reflects a marked period of change in literary practices and nascent stage in vernacular literary languages. Hemacandra himself represents a figure on the cusp of regional and cosmopolitan literary production. He was the first "cosmopolitan theorist" to acknowledge the possibility of Mahākāvya in the vernacular, or *grāmyabhāṣā*.[50] This suggests, then, the complex and multivalent literary context from which the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* emerged: a context in which Sanskrit was at once the language of cosmopolitan political prowess and, in essence, simply another vernacular from which the community of regional, polyglot writers could choose.

The Emerging Sense of Regional Literature in Gujarat and Beyond

It is commonplace in the arena of post-colonial identity politics to associate the modern provincial boundaries of India with vernacular language groups; it was on this basis of language that the modern state of Gujarat was partitioned from neighbouring Maharashtra in 1960, dividing what had been the single state of Bombay and the colonial Bombay Presidency before that. Yet evidence for this equivocation of language with regional identity is largely absent from the historical record of western India prior to the twelfth century. What is known of the regional boundaries of what is now Gujarat prior to this time is defined solely by political power. And the fact that the politically sponsored language of the court was distinctly separate from the various local forms of speech encompassed in any given royal provenance indicates the separation of the self-perceived identity of the region and the region's literary and speech practices.[51] The gulf between the politically sponsored state language and spoken vernacular practices was still a reality of the Solanki court of the twelfth century. At the same time, however, changes were occurring that would have a dramatic impact on the literary practices of the region, and, ultimately, on its own regional identity and unity.

In the late twelfth century, the *Jaina* poet and grammarian Hemacandra (1089-1172), writing under the patronage of the two greatest kings of the Solanki dynasty of northern Gujarat, wrote that literature is composed only in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa.[52] While this statement may not reflect a descriptive assessment of Indic literature of the time, it does

50. Pollock 2006, p. 99; *grāmyabhāṣā* cited from Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* 8.6, 100 note 59.
51. Yashaschandra, p. 571.
52. *Ibid.*, p.567.

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bear witness to a well-established prescriptive view of how literature was defined and its mediums of expression. Hemacandra illustrates the enduring influence of the literary traditions associated with South Asia's three "trans-regional" languages, traditions that defined the very forms and mediums in which literature could be produced.[53] Yet he was writing on the eve of what appears to be a major shift in literary practice in the Gurjara region. Hemacandra himself eventually acknowledged the possibility of vernacular Mahākāvya, and was the first great Sanskrit grammarian and poet to do so.

The first datable extant literary work in Old Gujarati was composed in 1170, near the end of Hemacandra's life, by the Jain monk Vajrasenasūri. The text is a long narrative poem (*rāsa*) on the battle between the two sons of King Ṛsabhadeva entitled *Bharateśvarabāhubalighor.* In 1185 another Gujarati-language *rāso* entitled *Bharateśvarabāhubalirāso* was composed on the same theme by the Jain monk Śālibhadrasūri.[54] It is notable that both of these works are also claimed as the first vernacular literature in Rajasthani by literary historians who hold the view that Rajasthani reflects a literary history distinct from Gujarati. In particular, this is the view taken by the Sahitya Akademy.[55] "Old Gujarati" is also known as "Māru-Gurjara" and "Old Western Rajasthani." Most literary historians mark the fifteenth century as the date at which Rajasthani and Gujarati literature became independent of each other. It is notable, however, that the language spoken in south-western Rajasthan along the Gujarat border is virtually indistinguishable from northern Gujarati dialects. Recently, discussions of Rajasthani regional identity have posited that the very notion of a Rajasthani language that is distinct from Gujarati and other bordering dialects is a modern construct resulting from George Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1903), and does not reflect actual speech and literary practices of western India.[56]

These first two Gujarati works appear at the end of a century in which the term Gurjaradeśa first gained popularity as a name for the region of the Gurjaras or Gujarati speakers. They also mark the beginning of what would become a rich and extensive literary corpus in the Gujarati language. Travel documentation of the sixteenth century *Jaina* poet monk Samayasundara, who wrote and preached in both Sanskrit and Gujarati, attests to the fact that he composed in Gujarati for audiences ranging from Abu and Patan in northern Gujarat to Khambat in the south, and across all of Kathiawad and Kacch in the far west of the region, suggesting that one written standard had emerged and was used across all of the regional

53. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

55. Maheshwari p. 21.

56. Lodric pp. 17-18.

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dialects of this area.[57] While much of the earliest extant Gujarati literature was produced by Jain authors, this medieval literature does attest to a growing tradition of vernacular composition among Hindu authors, especially after the conquest of Patan by the Delhi Sultanat in 1304. In the fifteenth century, Bhālaṇa, a *Moḍha* Brahmin from Patan, was the first to use the term Gurjarabhāṣā to describe the linguistic medium of his own compositions.[58] These literary texts, along with many others produced over the span of four centuries, illustrate the process through which the regional Gujarati language found a place in the trans-regional literary culture of Gujaradeśa.[59] This process, in turn, indicates a newly emerging consciousness of the scope and character of the region of the Gurjaras. In his exploration of regionality in Gujarati literary culture, Sitanshu Yashaschandra observes,

> Evidence thus suggests that between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries literature emerged in the space of the speech varieties, so to put it, of the Māru-Gurjara region. It would be less true to say that a regional literature emerged in the literary-cultural space of an older tradition, for what the regional literature of Gurjaradeśa principally did was to change the speeches of the region, consolidating them into a more or less unified literary language (thereby uniting it, in one important sense, as a region).[60]

Evident for the first time is a climate in which language and literature were uniting the Gurjara people in a means that was independent of shifting political borders. Though this shift represents a new medium for literary expression and a new principle in defining regionality, the literary value and forms associated with these textual products remained relatively unchanged. Yashaschandra also observes:

> This emergence had little effect on the notion of literature itself or the nature of literary texts; it is the linguistic field of the region that changed. From out of the numerous native dialects of the large area of the Chaulukya kingdom and beyond, a single literary regional language, intelligible to readers and listeners all over the region, was fashioned .... into a vehicle for new literary activity.[61]

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57. *Ibid.*, pp. 571-73.
58. Yashaschandra, p. 580.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 589.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 576.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 577.

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For three centuries, the literary circles of Gurjaradeśa would maintain a sense of the complementary nature of Sanskrit and Gujarati, and would even foster the perspective that the regional (or Gujarati) should maintain a sense of the larger world, while the trans-regional (or Sanskritic) should prove relevant to the regional context.[62] This perception of the complementary yet separate functions of Sanskrit and the vernacular is found in other literary traditions of the sub-continent as well. Writing of the literature of medieval Andhra, Velchuru Narayana Rao notes that classical Sanskritic and vernacular Telugu poetry "became complements to each other rather than contestants ... but the awareness that Sanskrit and Telugu represent two distinctly different styles ... persisted."[63] The ways in which Sanskrit and the vernacular functioned equally to express literary ideas reflects the ways in which South Asian literary traditions are sometimes "place-specific" and "place transcending" simultaneously.[64] It was not until the sixteenth century that the *bhakta* sense of the primacy of the mother tongue entered the literature of Gujarat through the work of Narasimha Mehta.[65]

The shifting literary and linguistic values to which the extant textual record bears witness surely did not emerge spontaneously or develop in a cultural and historical vacuum. What, then, lead to such deep-rooted changes in the value of Gujarati as a literary medium? In discussing the evolution of vernacular literature in Bengali, Sudipta Kaviraj observes that the literature of many Indian vernaculars evolved under the influence of two conditions: "deep changes in religious sensibility" and "shifting political authority". In the specific case of Bengal, Bengali literature is produced vociferously by non-bramanical movements, especially Buddhist, *bhakti,* and *Śākta* traditions. Given that the brahmanical traditions are so thoroughly associated with the Sanskrit language, language choice becomes for these heterodox movements a clear statement of opposition.[66] The religious implications of language choice are also illustrated in the development of vernacular literature in the medieval precursors to Hindi, Brajabhāṣā and Avadhī by the *bhakti-sant* poets of northern India from the mid-fifteenth century onward and in the writings of Jñānadeva (twelfth to thirteenth century), founder of the *bhakti* movement in Maharashtra and "the doyen" of Marathi poets.[67] In the case of medieval Andhra, the only clear assertion of Telugu literature in protest against Sanskrit comes from the "strident" twelfth century *Śaiva bhakta* Basaveśvara and his thirteenth century follower Pālkuriki Somanātha.[68] The Telugu case also illustrates the political influence on

62. *Ibid.*, p. 581-82.
63. Rao, p. 30.
64. Yashaschandra, p. 589.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 583.
66. Kaviraj 2003, pp. 514-15.
67. McGregor 2003, pp. 313-19; and Tupule, p. 329.
68. Rao, p. 27.

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vernacular language development, with the earliest Telugu literature growing out of reorganizations of tribal power in the sixth and seventh century and the flowering of composition in the vernacular developing, in part, as a means for poets of winning support in the Telugu-speaking court from the fourteenth century onward.[69] The *bhakti* literature of the Hindi *sant* poets is also associated with political motivation, specifically as an assertion of "Indian" and "Hindu" identity against the Mughal rule of medieval northern India.[70]

Similar historical roles of religious and political movements in fostering the development of vernacular literature are reflected in the identities of the early Gujarati poets as well. The earliest poems, those of Vajrasenasūri and Śālibhadrasūri, are the products of the *Jaina* tradition. They are also products of religious communities and traditions that are clearly removed from the political nexus of Patan. It is important to note that Hemacandra, both a Jain and a contemporary of the earliest Gujarati poets, composed almost exclusively in Sanskrit as a recipient of the patronage of the Solanki court. Later Hindu literature in Gujarat also reflects these trends. Bhālaṇa, the *Moḍha* Brahmin who first referred to his writing as "Gujarabhāṣā," wrote in the fifteenth century outside the realm of political authority and influence after the fourteenth century establishment of Muslim rule in Gujarat.

Conclusion

How, then, is the literary context of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* distinct from other literary movements of northern and western India? One distinctive feature is the predominantly Sanskrit corpus of puranic literature of Gujarat right up until the twentieth century. From the time of Nānnaya, who is lauded as the "first poet" of Telugu literature, retellings and reinterpretations of the Purāṇas were among the most abundant literary products of medieval Andhra.[71] As was noted earlier in this article, medieval regional Purāṇas of Orissa and Maharashtra were composed in the vernacular as well. The most comparable tradition to that of Gujarat lies in the production of predominantly Sanskrit Purāṇas in Bengal. It is notable that both Gujarat and Bengal are essentially frontier regions, constituting major routes of entrance for outside authority and culture, especially that of the Mughals.[72] The strong tradition of puranic literature in Sanskrit in these regions suggests an assertion of an identity that is closely tied with pan-Indic Hindu tradition, as opposed to the influence of powers and cultures from outside of the sub-continent. The regional Purāṇas of Gujarat are distinct even from the Bengali context, however, in that they constitute a regional puranic tradition that never circulated outside of its region of origin or gained any real trans-regional readership.

69. Nagaraju, pp. 12-13; and Rao 1995, p.27.
70. McGregor 1984,pp. 38-45.
71. Nagaraju, p. 16-19; Narayana Rao 1995, pp. 26-27.
72. Zbavitel, p. 120. On the Sanskrit Purāṇas and regional cultural identity in Bengal, see Chakrabarti.

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It was within the changing literary contexts of medieval South Asia that the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* was composed. No known evidence survives of what, if any, literary conceptions of the region of Gujarat prior to the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*. Despite what may or may not have preceded it, however, the text clearly expresses a new vision of a region unified by a central king and his kingdom as well as a shared religious vision, and it does so when an emerging sense of "Gurjaradeśa" as the country defined and united by the vernacular Gujarati language and literature was flourishing but when the transregionality of all literature, regardless of language, was still claimed through the use of literary conventions. The text reflects this context, serving to define and claim some regional unity and reflecting the expressly regional nature of the polyglossic Gujarati literary culture of its time.

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THE *DEVĪPURĀṆA* - AN OVERVIEW

Saswati Sen*

The Purāṇa Literature & its Division

The earliest scripture of our country is the Vedas, the embodiment of knowledge - not mere information of *yajñas* or sacrifices or other ritual activities. A psychological discipline of self culture which leads to true knowledge of God, was the basic motto behind all ritual systems in the ages of the Vedas. The *ṛṣis* as well as the socialists knew that it would be very difficult for the common people, to accept the true ideas behind the Vedic literature. Therefore, they made great endeavour to make people understand the true nature of God by narrating mythological and imaginary stories describing Him as all-pervading monarch of the three worlds. Not only this, there was also a floating mass of popular literature during the time of the Vedas which, along with the previous one gradually formed a class of literature named Purāṇa. This literature being very old and popular, played an important role in the development of socio-cultural, religious and artistic life of the Indian people. Unlike the Vedas, this literature could be studied by people of all castes and classes including women. Thus, it became popular day by day and due to regular addition of material through the ages, it became a vast corpus of literature, India had ever produced. The puranic literature has influenced human life in every field, be it history or geography, religion or philosophy, sociology or politics, culture or art.

The Purāṇa literature can be broadly classified into three - Mahāpurāṇas, Upapurāṇas and Aupapurāṇas[1]. The Mahāpurāṇas are again sub divided into three groups - *sāttvika (Viṣṇu,*

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1. आद्यं सनत्कुमारं च नारदीयं बृहच्च यत् ।
आदित्यं मानवप्रोक्तं नान्दिकेश्वरमेव च ।।
कौर्म्मं भागवतं ज्ञेयं वाशिष्टं भार्गवं तथा ।
मुद्गलं कल्किदेव्यौ च महाभागवतं तथा ।।
बृहद्धर्म्मं परानन्दं बह्निं पशुपतिं तथा ।
हरिवंशं ततो ज्ञेयमिदमौपपुराणकम् ।। Shastri Madhavacharya, *Purāṇadigdarśanam*, p. 55

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Nāradīya, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma and *Varāha), rājasa (Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmā, Vāmana* and *Bhaviṣyat)* and *tāmasa (Agni, Skanda, Śiva, Liṅga, Matsya* and *Kūrma).*[2] The Upapurāṇas are further divided into four groups - *jñātipurāṇa (Malla, Nandi* etc.), *sthalapurāṇa* (any māhātmya work), *sāmpradāyikapurāṇa (Devībhāgavata, Gaṇeśa, Kālikā, Devī, Pāraśara* etc.) and *itara (Caurapurāṇa* etc.). Ramesh Chandra Hazra divides Upapurāṇas into six - *Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Śaiva, Gāṇapatya, Saura* and Non-sectarian.[3] The word *upa* means subordinate if used as a prefix. The orthodox opinion rates these works as secondary and those that are written after the Mahāpurāṇas are termed as Upapurāṇas.[4] The others consider these works as sub sections[5] of the Mahāpurāṇas. But, Hazra defines these as a 'class of works'. According to him it is very unfortunate that these Purāṇas are underrated due to the prefix *upa*. The Upapurāṇas are nothing but a separate literature and are very important as far as religious, social, cultural data and art history are concerned. Surprisingly, this literature has been overlooked by the scholarly world. There are some works which are of early origin and thus quoted by the *nibandhakāras,* but the whole upapuranic literature is posterior to the mahapuranic one.

The characteristics of upapuranic texts - firstly, the deities depicted here are of local origin. After the Vedic gods were established there arose a number of sects and sub-sects viz. *saura, śākta, gāṇapatya* and so on who, in order to propound their philosophy took the help of these texts. Secondly, the Upapurāṇas are very rich in technical sciences and literature. Sometimes they may lack in originality in them, yet they supply us with valuable information about the history of culture of ancient India. Thirdly, due to their so-called secondary position, these texts are more reliable in comparison to the Mahāpurāṇas as though both have undergone innumerous changes throughout the ages.

The *Devīpurāṇa*

The *Devīpurāṇa* is one of those very important Upapurāṇas[6] that are available in printed form. This work is considered as a *śākta* Upapurāṇa as it deals with saktism in an exhaustive way. The *śākta* Upapurāṇas come under the *sāmpradāyika* or sectarian Purāṇa, main object of which was to popularize their sects among the masses. The *Devīpurāṇa,* a sectarian Upapurāṇa gives an account of saktism of ancient and mediaeval India. The great Goddess who is worshipped throughout the length and breadth of India in various names and in various forms, has been depicted here as the main deity. This text had gained a country wide

2. *Matsyapurāṇa* 53. 68-69.
3. Hazra R. C., *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* , Vol II, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1963, pp.4-13.
4. *Matsyapurāṇa,* 53.58
5. *Kūrmapurāṇa.* 1. 16
6. Madhavacharya Shastri considers DP as an Aupapurāṇa., *vide* fn. 1.

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popularity in the mediaeval period. Many scholars and digest writers have quoted the text a number of times with reference to the religious and ritualistic procedures.

Printed Editions & Manuscripts - Two printed editions of the text are available, one is edited in Bengali character and translated in Bengali by Panchanan Tarkaratna[7]. The second one is edited in Devanagari character by Pushpendra Kumar Sharma.[8] Hazra mentions eleven manuscripts of the text that are deposited in the libraries of India Office, London; Sanskrit College, Kolkata; Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Kolkata; Rashtriya Abhilekhalay, Kathmandu; Sanskrit College, Benaras & other mss libraries. Twelve such references are found in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[9].

Date - It is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of the *Devīpurāṇa* (henceforth DP) since, like other Purāṇas, it is not of unitary character but, a transmitted text, incorporating different strata. Therefore, we shall try to fix the upper limit and the lower limit of the composition period. The original text consisted of four *pādas* namely, *Trailokyavijayam* (1.28), *Trailokyābhyudayam* (1.42), *Śumbha-niśumbha-mathanam* (1.43), *Devāsuram yuddham* (1.45) which is referred to in the very first chapter of the present DP, is not available now.

External Evidence - The present text is only the first *pāda* of the original text. The DP quoted by the digest writers, sometimes do not tally with the present text. R. C. Hazra considers the present text to be of 5th/6th century A.D. According to him the date of *nibandha* writers who have quoted DP in their works, show that the text cannot be later than 850 A.D. Moreover, he thinks that since Vallālasena quoted the text along with other Purāṇas namely *Garuḍa, Agni, Tārkṣya,* the DP cannot be placed later than 700 A.D. The period of prominence of independent Brahma worship is in 200-600 A.D. and by the beginning of 7th century it again lost its prominence. Since DP encourages Brahma worship, therefore its composition may be not later than 600 A.D. Therefore, it is very likely that the present text was composed in the later part of 6th century. P. V. Kane furnishes a very brief note on the *Devīurāṇa* in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*.[10] He refers to Hazra's article which assigns DP to be composed in the 7th century. Besides Kane mentions the names of the digest writers who have quoted DP several times in their works on *vrata, tīrtha, devīpūjā, homa, bali, durgotsava, dāna* etc. Pushpendra Kumar Sharma[11] also refers to Hazra's views and comes to the conclusion that the

7. *Devīpurāṇam*, ed. by Acharya Panchanan Tarkaratna, Revised by his son Shrijiv Nyaytirtha, Nababharat Publishers, Calcutta, Vangabda 1400. Vangavasi Edition of the text referred to by R. C. Hazra in his *Studies in the Upapurāṇa*, Vol II p. 46, fn. 105 and P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol V, is not available now.
8. *Devīpurāṇam*, by Pushpendra Kumar Sharma, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, New Delhi, 1976.
9. N.C.C., Vol IX, p. 137
10. Kane P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol V, Part II, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1962, pp. 889-90.
11. *Devīpurāṇam*, *op. cit.*, pp.31-32.

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DP may be placed between 5th century to 9th century A.D. Usha Dev[12] cites evidences presented by Hazra and opines DP to have been composed in the 6th century though the entire work might not have been written in the same period.

Internal Evidence - (a) Three chapters of DP (chs. 109-110) are the reproduction of the *Carakasaṁhitā (Sūtrasthāna*-1, ch. 25, śl. 1-40), which is of 1st century A.D. In between the text adds its own view *(śivo mantrasiddhināṁ, durgārādhanam vijayānām* - p. 608, Beng ed. & from *śivānuśaraṇam bhūtajvarāpaharāṇām .... puṁstvameva vaṁśavṛddhikarāṇām* p. 604 Beng ed. and p. 399 Dn ed.) that is absent in the *Carakasaṁhitā*. At times DP omits portion of *Caraka* (e.g. last part of sl. 3 in ch. 110). -(b). Reference to sage Maṭhara in the DP in ch. 51, sl. 8 (Beng ed.) sl. 9 (Dn ed.)[13] is a significant one. Maṭhara was a sage in the Vedic period - *kāśyapībālākhyā Māṭharīputra*[14]. Besides, there was one Maṭhara who was the commentator of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. Maṭhara referred to here may not be a single person but persons belonging to *maṭhara gotra*[15]. The date of the *vṛtti* of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* is placed before V.S. 450. -(c) The DP devotes four chapters on Gaṇeśa - his origin, eulogy and worship by the devotees (chs. 112-115). We find two types of evidences concerning the existence of Gaṇeśa cult in ancient India - epigraphic records and ancient texts. The first epigraphic record of Gaṇeśa recorded in the 6th century A.D.[16] The narratives of the birth of Gaṇeśa and his relation with the Lord are different in different texts. The DP mentions that Gajānan appears from the palm of the God while according to many texts Gaṇeśa is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. The development of Gaṇeśa cult from *anārya* deity to present position is yet another topic not to be elaborated here, only two references may be cited in support of our view -"The worship of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) cannot be traced back to a very early date ..... this peculiar god has nothing but a combination of the iconographic types of *yakṣa* and a *nāga* be accepted, then there can be no doubt about the antiquity of his constituents. In the late Gupta or the early post Gupta period, it must have come into existence."[17] "Between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century the Gaṇapati cult must have come into practice. That the Vināyakas had come to be objects of

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12. Dev Usha, *The Concept of Śakti in the Purāṇas*, Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1987, p.31

13. अग्रैर्वा शिवसिद्धान्त-तिलकादिपप्रवेदिभिः ।
माठोरोक्तविधौ वापि सर्वकामप्रदायकः ।।

14. Maṭharī - a female descendant of Mathara occurs in the curious name *kāśyapī-bālākhyā-māṭharīputra*, of a teacher in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI. 4. 31 *Mādhyandina*) - *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by Mcdonell, p.148.

15. *Sāṅkhyakārika* ed. by P. Vishnu Prasad Sharma, Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1922, p. 5.

16. Banerjea J. N., *Puranic and Tantric Religion*, University of Calcutta, 1966, p. 153.

17. *Ibid*, pp. 150-153.

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faith before the Christian era, may be taken to follow from the occurrence of the ceremony mentioned in a *Gṛhyasūtra (Mānavagṛhyasūtra,* 2.14). But the one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon much later.'[18] If, however, we take these references into consideration, the DP can be placed nearly in the Gupta era. -(d) The DP was composed at that time when the country was flooded with *bhakti* cult (ch. 32, sl. 14) and the Buddhism and Jainism were considered as *pāṣaṇḍadharma* (*vide* ch. 6.6; 9.32; 13.10,11,24; 27.18, 33,65). At the time of Buddhism and Jainism the religious system that had sprung up was mostly atheistic and it indulged in moral discourses and exaltation which are not associated with a theistic faith. Gradually people tried for a new path of love and dependence and as a result at the first half of the seventh century Hiuen Chawang found Buddhism in declining condition. -(e) Contrary to the above point the DP refers Buddha as one of the *avataras* of Viṣṇu (ch. 6.5). Hazra says that none of the *Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇupurāṇa* or *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (latest among these, 550 A.D.) mention the Buddha as an *avatāra*. According to him the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu has first been mentioned by *Matsyapurāṇa* which was mostly composed after 550 A.D.[19] Kane opines that from about 7th century A.D. the Buddha began to be recognized as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[20] -(f) Tantric elements & references to *vāmācāra* and *kaulācāra* in DP - the tantric cult spread in various parts of our country before 8th century specially in Bèngal and Assam. The tantric cult and saktism are not the same. The *devī* is considered as the highest deity in *śākta* cult where as the tantric deity may be other than the goddess though it is true that very often *devī* is associated with it. However, this cult was prevalent in India long before 600 A.D. -(g) The text refers to Hunas. The Hunas recorded to have invaded India in 454 A.D. and 495 A.D. in the Gupta period. They ruled over the western India for some thirty years from 500 A.D onwards. -(h) Chapters 50 & 71 of the text discuss about *sūryapūjana* and *sūryatattva.* The earliest archaeological data of solar worship was recorded on the coins of Kaniṣka in the Gupta period (Mandasore Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta I in 436-37 A.D. and in a copperplate in 464 A.D.)[21] Another reference to sun cult was introduced to India in the beginning of Christian era. Thus, excluding the Vedic references[22], other evidences prove the prevalence of sun worship in early centuries. -(i) Vallālsena, the renowned king of Bengal of the Sena dynasty condemned

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18. Utgikar Narayan Bapuji (ed.), *Collected works of Shri R.J. Bhandarkar,* Vol. IV, B.O.R.I., 1929, pp. 211-212.
19. Hazra R.C., *Studies* in *the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,* Motilal Banarsidass, 1975, p. 41.
20. Kane P. V., *op.cit.,* p. 1025.
21. Banerjea J. N., *op.cit.,* p. 143 & Utgikar B. N., *op.cit.,* p. 220.
22. Rg. 1.50.8, 1.115.3, 2.33.1, 10.110.3 and more.

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the DP in his *Dānasāgara* in Śaka 1091 (1169-70 A.D.) due to its tantric elements to the context of non-inclusion of the particular texts in his work *(asaṁgrahitagranthanāmāni)*[23]. By the time of Vallālasena the DP must have gained popularity as a notable puranic work.

Regarding the commentaries and quotations of the digest writers, none of them who had quoted the DP, was before 10th century A.D. Among them the earliest three are Aparārka (*Yājñavalkya-smṛtivyākhyā),* Jimūtavāhana *(Kālaviveka)* and Lakṣmīdhara *(Kṛtyakalpataru)* - all belonged to about 11th century A.D. It is curious that the DP, so old a text, was not quoted by the *nibandhakāras* earlier than 10th century ! The period of these scholars as stated by Kane, is, between 700 A.D. to 1800 A.D.[24] He further states that the *Matsyapurāṇa* was composed in some centuries before the DP. But Hazra's meticulous analysis of each chapter of the *Matsyapurāṇa* shows that the text was composed in separate period in a range of 400 A.D. to 1000 A.D.[25] Thus, ascertaining date of a puranic literature requires meticulous study of each chapter and an analytic skill to understand the historical, social and literary background of the particular text as this literature undergo lots of changes. Considering all these factors, we may conclude that the original DP might have been composed by 6th century A.D.

Contents of the *Devīpurāṇa* - (A) Religion & (B) Works of Arts and Science

(A) Religion

"In every religion there are three parts. First there is philosophy, which presents the whole scope of that religion, setting forth its basic principles, goals and the means for reaching it. The second part is mythology, which is philosophy made concrete. It consists of legends relating to the lives of men or of supernatural beings, and so forth. It is the abstractions of philosophy concretized in the more or less imaginary lives of men and supernatural beings. The third part is ritual. This is still more concrete and is made up of forms and ceremonies, various physical attitudes, flowers and incense, and many other things that appeal to senses."[26] Every stage is important for the uplift of consciousness of man. The philosophy of Brahman is too difficult to be conceived by a person not versed in scriptures. The puranic literature gets the credit of educating the mass with traditional ideal and codes of manner and channelizing

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23. तत्तत् पुराणोपपुराणसंख्याबहिष्कृतं कश्मलकर्मयोगात् पाषण्डशास्त्रमनुमतं निरूप्य देवीपुराणं न निबद्धमत्र । *Dānasāgara*, ed. by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1956, p. 7.
24. Kane P. V., *op.cit.* Vol I, Pt. I, p. 595.
25. Hazra, *Puranic Records*, Pt. I, pp. 50-51.
26. Swami Vidyatmananda (ed.), *What Religion is* in the words of Swami Vivekananda, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, 1972, p. 25.

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one to a specific path so as to lift him to the higher plane of consciousness. The DP, though a *śākta* Purāṇa, narrates a brief account of the Vedas, Saivism, Vaisnavism, Ganapatyism and Saura cult.

(1) The Vedic Reference - The first chapter marks out that the text is based on the Vedic doctrine - *vedārtha-tattva-saṁhitām*[27] and also the accounts of Siva, Brahma and Hari - *śiva-brahmā-hari- kirtikārakam*. Again, in the seventh chapter, it declares that the goddess is the highest deity - *yā sā ādyā parā śakti,* who is supported by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. The four Vedas are Her door keepers - *pratihāri.*[28] The physical description of the Vedas are stated here. *Ṛgveda*- eyes are like lotus leaf, elongated belly, proportionate throat, curly hair and beard[29]. This Veda should be worshipped on silver or pearl particles (*sa rājate mauktirāje'atha pujyo*). Likewise, *Yajuṣ* is yellow eyed, copper complexioned and has narrow waist and wide forehead. He is to be worshipped either on a diagram or on *śivaliṅga.*[30] Ever garlanded golden eyed *Sāmaveda* should be worshipped on *Indranīlamaṇi* or copper[31]. Slim and handsome, blue complexioned *Atharvaveda* is a *paṇḍita*. He is preferred to be worshipped on gold, *rudrākṣa* or *padmarāja.*[32] These Vedas have originated from Śiva and Śakti?[33] The goddess is said to be the mother of ninety *svaras*. The Vedic *mantras* are chanted in every auspicious occasion like hoisting *Indradhvaja* and *Devīdhvaja.*[34] There are many a occasion the text refers to Vedic *mantras* (mainly from *Śukla Yajurveda*) to get relieved from diseases and other crises[35].

(2) The Tantric Element - The practice of tantra[36] was in vogue in the period of the DP though the text does not propound any doctrine of the Tantra. The influence of tantra on the then society was quite natural and people did attract to this cult as it was a new experience for them which gave them an impression very different from the Vedic cult. As it is portrayed

27. 1. 55.
28. 7.20-22.
29. ऋग्वेदः पद्मपत्रायताक्षः प्रलम्बजठरः सुविभक्तग्रीवः । कुञ्चितकेशश्मश्रुः प्रमाणेनापि वितस्तिपञ्च ।। ४९
30. 107. 50-51.
31. 107.52.
32. 107. 53-54.
33. 107.55.
34. 12. 26; 35. 23.
35. Chs. 55 & 56.
36. Gopinath Kaviraj divides history of Tantric culture into three parts - 1) Ancient or pre-Buddhistic age, 2) Mediaeval or post Buddhistic age up to 1200 A.D. and 3) Modern from A.D. 1300 till now. According to him the Mediaeval period was the most creative one. Kaviraj Gopinath, *Aspects of Indian Thought*, The University of Burdwan, Burdwan, 1966, p. 177.

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in the DP, it shows ritualistic activities like performing *nyāsa, mudrā* and so on. In the very first *śloka* of the second chapter, it is said that King Nṛpavāhana is eager to learn *Kāmikā vidyā* from sage Agastya. This *vidyā* helps one acquiring whatever he wishes to obtain. Reference to *Padamālā vidyā* uttering of which one becomes free from sin *(vighna-pāpa-praṇaśinīm)*[37] or *Mantramālā vidyā*[38] their practice and result, their merits & demerits - all are depicted in detail. The DP refers to another *mantra, Rakṣā mantra*[39] muttering of which one gets protected. Likewise, *Mohini vidyā, Guṭikādi vidyā, Aparājitā vidyā* (containing ten mantras for the welfare of the people)[40] and *Khaḍgamalanjadi vidyā* are also explained in the DP. The goddess herself is *mantrasambhavā* and these *vidyās* are her manifestations. The text refers to various *mudrās* like *varadā, abhayā, vyoma, yoni, ghaṇṭa, khaḍga* and so on. We find *tantric vidhi* in reference to the context of worship of Vināyaka also (70. 1). Very importance has been laid upon *kumārī pujā*[41] or the worship of virgin girl as these girls represent the goddess. The DP recommends *kumarī kanyā pujā* at every occasion of worship.

(3) Vratas, worship and eulogies of the Goddess - The *devī* is not only shown as primordial energy *(ādyā śakti)*, in the DP, but also as Umā, Pārvatī and as *Śaktis* of other gods. She is also the *mātṛs*. She is the war goddess who dwells in the Vindhyas mounted on a lion. She has various forms - Dākṣāyanī, Caṇḍī, Kālī, Nandā, Sunandā, She is the *śakti* of Śiva. The text furnishes a vivid and detailed account of devī-worship in the form of *vratas, yajñas,* their way of practice, their benefits gained.

The word *vrata* is used many a times, in the sense of *karma (kriyānuṣṭhānam).*[42] Kane has shown in details various other senses of this word in Vedic and other literature - command over law, obedience or duty, religious or moral practices, sacred or solemn vow or undertakings.[43] In course of time in later literature the meaning of *vrata* took a very specific shape. Jagannath Shastri defines *vrata* as - *samyak-saṁkalpa-janitānuṣṭheya-kriyāviśeṣarūpamevātra vrataśabdena vivakṣitam.* It is a religious practice which is observed with a *saṅkalpa* or an objective through a particular discipline. The DP furnishes a detailed account of *vratas*, their ways of practice and benefits gained. The goddess's *Navamīkalpa,*

37. 9.56.

38. 9.68. This *vidyā* is said to be referred to in the *Atharvaveda* - सिद्धान्तवेदकर्म्मणामथर्व्वपददीपनीम् (9.64) & अथर्ववेदविहितानि करोति (9. 69)

39. 7.58-90.

40. 1. 63; 11. 4 & 13.

41. In the *Mahākālasamhitā*, as cited by Kaviraj, there is a hymn titled *kumārī stotra* where the types of virgin girls to be selected for worship, has been stated. Kaviraj Gopinath, *op. cit.* pp. 238-40.

42. Shastri Jagannath, *Vratakośa*, Pt. I, Govt. Sanskrit College, Benaras, 1929, pp. 4-9.

43. Kane P.V., *op.cit.*, pp. 1-4.

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monthly *Durgāvrata, Bhāgyadvādásī vrata, Goratna vrata,* monthly *Kṛṣṇāṣtamī vratas* of Mahadeva and *Umā-Maheśvara vrata.* Enumeration of *maṇḍalas, yāgas, homas,* proper *tithīs,* articles and methods of worship, *stotras* of the goddess and lord Śiva are presented elaborately.

(4) Names of the goddess - The thirty seventh chapter of the DP furnishes various names (more than one hundred) of the *devī* and their etymology *(nāmanirukti).* Like, the goddess whose eyes are Candra, Sūrya and Vāyu, is Tryambakā. She, who protected the gods from the dangerous enemies is Durgā, She, who is lying on the water *(nāra)* is Nārāyaṇī (or water who is in *devi's* refuge). The goddess who has slain Mahiṣāsura mounting on a lion is Mahiṣaghnī or Siṁhavāhinī. As She disperses darkness she is Tamonāśinī. As Brahmacārinī, She pervades all the Vedas. She is Brahmiṣṭhā as She is the mother of the gods. She is fair complexioned like that of the moon, so She is Gaurī. Likewise, ch. thirty eight enumerates the names of the Goddesses who are established in certain places. Goddess Durgā is to be worshipped in the place between the south of the Vindhyas and the north of Malayas. Goddess Nandā resides in a land south of the Himalayas and north of Kurukṣetra. Goddess Rudrāṇī dwells in Kāśasthalī, Bhadrakalī in Jalandhar.

(5) Mythology - The centre story of this Purāṇa is overlordship of demon Ghora in the worlds and Devī's victory over him. The Mahādharmāsura (ch.40), Kṛṣṇāsura (ch. 41), Amarāsura (ch. 43), Ruru (chs. 83-87), Vighnāsura, Khatvāsura (chs. 116-119) are the other demons who were defeated by the goddess.

(6) Exposition of Yoga Tenets - The tenth chapter of the DP expounds the yogic system of belief in a detailed mode. The interlocutors Indra asks Brahma *kim yoga* and *kena vā prāpyate.* The chapter is divided into ten sub-chapters where prime importance has been given to *Śaiva yoga (Śivasiddhāntamārgena vedaśāstrāgmena ca / yatha tu prāpyate yogastathā me bruhi tattvataḥ //).* The first chapter describes the nature of *yoga* and competency; details of *jñāna - vairāgya - dharma - yoga* and its result. The second chapter shows the concept of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* in Sāṅkhya system where īśvara is none other than Śiva. The third one describes nature of Puruṣa, Prakṛti and īśvara *(karmapekṣā hīśvarasya pravṛttih).* The fourth chapter depicts *jñānayoga* and *vairāgyayoga.* The fifth as well as sixth chapter inform about the practice and method of *yoga (sarvasaṅgān parityajya ātmanyātmanamāśrayet).* The seventh chapter deals with realization of *Śabdabrahma.* The next chapter is meditation on *oṁkāra.* The last one deals with *dhāraṇa* and *śivaprāpti.*

(B) Works of Arts and Sciences - The DP has tried to exploit the technical achievements in a specific way. We do not find any sporadic reference to various arts delineated in the text, all are meant for social welfare.

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(1) Education : The ninety first chapter of the text explicates the principles of education. **Subjects** - The *śāstras* that should be studied are the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa, Siddhānta Śāstras, Mokṣa Śāstras, the Astrology, the Medicine, the Kāvyas, the texts on Art and Tantra. Everybody in the society is eligible to study provided he serves the elders, he is intelligent and has money. Vedas - Initially the Veda was said to be one but it was so voluminous that it was divided into four.[44] They are again divided into Śākhās, Upavedas, Vedāṅgas, their *gotras* and so many. The Vedas can be studied only by the *dvija* only. He, whose seventh and fifth ancestor from his paternal and maternal side respectively, are well acquainted in Vedic culture and observe purity, has right to study the Vedas. Even if one who is brahmin by birth, does not follow this, has to endure hell on earth.[45] Chapters 108-110 deals with *Ayurveda*. These chapters are mostly copy of *Sūtrasthāna* of *Carakasaṁhita* (sls. 30-33 of ch. 108, and a prose portion of ch. 110 are not in the *Caraka*). These chapters deal with the causes of diseases, ideal food a person should take as well as that one should avoid and the most beneficial among different categories of food.

Manuscripts - First, palm leaves are to be cut in equal size and be kept in a leather casket. Two painted wooden planks of equal size are to be placed on both the sides of the palm leaves and be tied with red or black string. Then *saṁhitā* should be written on the leaves. The scribe must be well versed in the *śāstras* and *chandas* and endowed with poetic brilliance. He is the most important among all as he restores the rare and lost texts by copying it skillfully. The scriptures are to be written in Nandināgarī script[46] and the spacing between the words should be neither too narrow nor too broad. The letters should be legible. In the beginning and at the end of the text there should be five *ślokas* written in remembrance of the gods and on *śānti-pāṭha* respectively. The book should be placed on a small table with three, five or seven stands.

Student - A student should be provided with every necessity - clothes, oil, umbrella, food and lamp.

(2) Architecture: Fort - There are four types of forts, viz. *audakam* or *jala durga* (fort surrounded by water), *pārvatam* or *giri durga* (fort in the midst of mountain range), *dhanvanam* or *maru durga* (fort surrounded by very dry land devoid of water and plants) and *vanajam* or *vana durga* (fort either surrounded by marshy land or very dense forest). Each of these forts are divided into two - *antadvīpa sthala, guha, prāntara, nirudaka, iriṇa, khañjana* and *stambha-*

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44. एक एव भवेद्वेदश्चतुर्भेदः पुनः कृतः । शाखार्थमल्पसत्त्वानां ग्रहणायातिविस्तरात् ।।

45. Ch. 96 - *vedānuṣaṅga*

46. The DP refers to *bhūrjapatra* or the birch bark, *paṭa*, gold and silver plaque as writing materials in chapter 70, sls. 2-3 in context of *vināyaka pūjā*.

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gahana. Among all the types, *giridurga* is considered as the best. In order to be very protective about one's kingdom a king should keep provision of enough food and other materials in the fort so that people can manage at least up to twelve years. If the materials remain unused the king has to donate them to his subjects and store new one. There should be enough arrangement of maintenance of arms and ammunition, protection, restriction in entrance of the strangers in the forts. Lastly, the king should always have company of his ministers, physicians and artisans. The southern entrance of the fort should be eleven *karas* high, five *karas* broad while the eastern one is nine *karas* high and five *karas* wide. The main entrance should be five *anguli* more in each side.

City - Four types of cities are described in the text viz. square *(caturasyam)*, circular *(vṛttam)*, triangular *(tryaśram)* and oblong *(dīrgham)*. The first one is said to be the best among the four. The city which is eight *yojana* diametre is Aindradevapura. That which is surrounded by twelve *yojana* land is Vaiṣṇavapura. Likewise the *nagaras* surrounded by six, ten and one *yojanas* are Śaivapura, Brāhmapura and Sārvabhaumikapura respectively. The king's palace should be built in the centre of the city, while the people of higher castes shall dwell in four directions. The lower caste men shall reside in the outskirts to avoid intermingling which may result in *varṇasaṅkaram*. Characterestics of various cities have been discussed-*Sarvatobhadra, Rucaka, Svastika, Vināsa, Durvala, Kṛśa, Dusthita* and *Chinnakarṇa*. Details of *nagara, grāma* and *kheta* in terms of their measurement are recorded here.

Roads - *Sīmāmārga, Rājapatha, Śākhārathya, Uparathyā, Jaṅghāpatha* and *Alparathyā*. *Simāpatha* and *Rājapatha* are ten *dhanuṣ* or 40 *karas* broad. *Uparathyā* is three *karas, Alparathyā* is a lane of *Uparathyā* measuring two *karas*. *Jaṅghāpatha* is four *pādas* wide. Moreover, we do not know when these types of city-roads were in vogue, may be these were the works of previous centuries.

Temples - These are to be constructed with either stone, bricks or wood. The temples should be furnished with pond, well, tank and garden. They are to be decorated with *devīchatra* and *devīdhvaja*. When the temple becomes old, repairing or renovating them is suggested.

Measurements - The subtle dust particle which is seen in the sunbeam is one *renu*. 8 *renu* = 1 *likṣā*, 54 *likṣā* = 1 *yava*, 8 *yava* = 1 *aṅguli*, 10 *aṅgulis* = 1 *prādeś*, 24 *aṅgulis* = 1 *hasta*, 4 *hasta* = 1 *dhanuṣ*, 2000 *dhanuṣ* / 8000 *hasta* = 1 *krośa*, 8000 *dhanuṣ* = 1 *yojana*.[47]

(3) Iconography : The DP furnishes a detailed account of sixty figures of the goddess and their names. These images are classified into three groups *sāttvika, rājasika* and *tāmasika*. The *sāttvika* forms include Vijayā, Dīpti, Kānti, Yaśā, Lakṣmi, Siddhi, Kṣamā, Śānti, Ṛddhi, Vṛddhi, Tuṣṭi and so on. The *rājasika* forms are Brāhmī, Jayāvatī, Sakrī, Aparājitā, Jayantī,

47. 72.14-21

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Mānasī, Śvetā, Vimohinī, Kauśikī, Gaurī, Vimalā etc. The *tāmasika* forms are Kālī, Ghaṇṭakarṇā, Mayurī, Surūpā, Ripuhā, Ambikā, Maheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vaivasvatī: Besides these, images of *saptamātṛkā* and other forms of goddess are dealt with. The detail descriptions of each image of the goddess, measurement of each *mūrtī* and the *maṇḍapas*, their complexion, no. of hands, their attire *(mekhalā*, white, black, red, plain & pigmented yellow garment), ornaments *(kīriṭa, keyura, nāgavandha, kañci, kiṅkiṇi, nupura, gaiveyaka, kaṅkaṇa,* garland of beeds), *mudrās (varadā, abhāya*), *āyudhas (śara & cāpa, asi & kheṭaka, gadā & daṇḍa, paraśu & cakra, śakti & kumbha, pāśa & tomara, hala & muṣala, ḍamaru & mudgara*), *āsanas* or *vāhanas* (lion, monkey, bull, antelope, swan, peacock, garuḍa, buffalo, elephant, lotus, chariot, *preta),* the time when the *devī* is to be consecrated, the materials *(śaila, indranīla, svarṇa, raupya, pṛthivī, sphaṭika, tāmra, muktāphala, pravāla, vajraloha)* to be used to sculpt the forms, *puja-vidhi,* offerings, meanings of each name and result of worship are dealt with. Besides, the text mentions more than hundred names of the goddess in different places.

(4) Geography : The text names numerous places and rivers in the contexts of worship of the goddess and lord Śiva. References to seven *dvipas* - Jambu, Śālmali, Śāka, Krauñca, Mandāra, Puṣkara, Kusá, seven seas - Kṣaroda, Kṣīroda, Dadhi, Sarpi, Rasa, Madirodam and Svādudam and various other places (Kashi, Kurukshetra, Kamakhya, Rameshvara, Nepal, Kashmir, Kailas, Kayarohan), mountains (Himavad, Vindhya, Kishkindha, Amaragiri), forests (Naimisha, Dandaka, Gokarna) and rivers (Sarasvati, Ganga, Yamuna, Narmada, Tapi, Vetravati, Bipasha, Kaushiki, Gandaki, Sarayu) are recorded here. It is to be noted that all the above mentioned places mostly belong to northern and eastern India.

(5) Astronomy : The text devotes quite a few chapters on astronomy. It furnishes in details about the stars and planets, solar & lunar eclipses, necessary protection to be taken at time of adverse moments *(utpāta),* results of different *ulkā, saṅkrāntis, yugas, kālas, varṇas* of different planets, nine *grahas* and their introductions, distance and dimensions of the planets. It also mentions two types of full moon *(rākā & anumati)* and new moon *(sinivali & kuhu).*

(6) Military Array : Mention of thirty five *vyuhas* (arrangement of army) is found in the forty third chapter of the text. The first seven are *kakṣa, pakṣa, urasya, daṇḍa, abhoga, maṇḍana* and *sanghata.* The rest are *pradadha, dṛḍha, kośadya, sona, ayorasa, kuksi, pratisthā, sañjaya, vijaya* and so on arranged orderly with body of troops. References to different *astras* namely *vayavyāstra* (sl. 41), *varunam, jalāstra, āgneya* (sl. 43), *brahmāstra* (sl. 48), *divyāstra* (51), *pāśupat astra (52), bhuṣuṇḍi* (a sort of missile -72.84) are found here.

(7) Flora and Fauna : In the text collection of indigenous plant and wildlife of that particular period is found :- flowers - *aśoka, bakula, mādhavī, dhava, jāti, punnāga, campaka, yuthikā, ketakī, madana, nilotpala, sitapaṅkaja; trees :- madhuka, candana, bilva, aśoka, tinduka,*

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siṁsapā; animals & birds - kāka, uluka, śalabha, vṛṣa, siṁha, suksra, svāna, rurava, vānara, ṛkṣa, mārjara śaśa, pipilikā, mṛga, mātaṅga, rājahaṁsa, tittibha, pārāvata, śuka, sārikā, kurara, karanda, cakravāka, mayura, parindra, kalahaṁsa, kapota and so on.

(8) Food : The DP is a storehouse of information regarding names of food. They can be classified into fruit *(kadalī, iṅguda, udumbara, kharjura, mātuluṅga, dāḍima, bilva, nāraṅga, vījapūraka, jambirā, āmra, āmrata, āmalaka, kapittha, jātiphala*), sweets *(ladduka, pāyasa, kṣīraudana, guḍakṣīra, śarkarā, pūpaka, kṣīra, modaka, apūpa, ksīrapiṣṭa, śarkarānna)* and others *(pūrika, anna, dadhibhakta, palanaudana, citraudana, parpaṭaudana, dadhyodana, tilamāsānna, dadhi, saktu, tila, kṛsara*- rice mixed with *tila, rohita matsya, māṁsa).*

(9) Home & Language : As regarding the origin of the place of composition of DP, there is no doubt that it was written in Bengal. Hazra, on the basis of the following points came to conclusion that the DP must have been written in this part of the country -

(a) Language of the text,

(b) Its reference in other Purāṇas (only in *Ekāmra Purāṇa* which is a work of Orissa),

(c) The names of the places mentioned in the text

(d) Most of the available mss of the text are found in Bengal and they are written in Bengali script,

(e) The customs referred to here reflects Bengal ethnicity and

(f) Lingual peculiarity

The text has been written in a mixed character of prose and poetry. As of literary point of view, I am reproducing Hazra's scrupulous analysis which he has presented in his *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*[48] in about hundred pages. He states that the DP has been written in highly incorrect Sanskrit which is very similar to Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit language (mixed language of Sanskrit and Prakrit) and has a similarity with *Mahāvastu* and other texts as they have prakritism equally in prose as well as verse portions. Therefore, history of the language of the DP may be traced back to the time of the *Mahāvastu.* At the same time their dissimilarities are so varied and serious that the present text can not be influenced by the former in linguistic peculiarities. Hazra's study further confirms that the language of DP was very common and was used in writing the religious texts by the other Hindu sects who were stamped as 'extra-Vedic' by the staunched Vedic followers. He has cited various quotations

48. Hazra, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-189.

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from the *Pauṣkara-saṁhitā* and found striking similarity with the language of the DP. The *Pauṣkara-saṁhitā* and the *Jayākhya-saṁhitā* were considered as the most authoritative work of *Pañcarārtra Āgama*. From further study, Prof. Hazra finds, "the popular religions current among the Hindus in early days were recorded in this type of Sanskrit, which scrupulously avoided Prakrit phonology and morphology to a very great extent but widely used Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa as its basis. As these religions concerned the common run of people who were indifferent to Vedic views of religion, life and conduct and also perhaps to Sanskrit learning, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa which were widely used and understood by them, were very naturally allowed to play in great part in making of the Sanskrit of their religious works ..... It appears that even in the pre-Paninian period a kind of grammatical incorrect Sanskrit had come into being among the less cultured sections of the Vedic and allied population ... we find the Sanskritised forms of such Prakrit words as were originally non-Sanskritic or were derived from Sanskrit, but the *Vibhaktis* and *Pratyayas* are very often Sanskrit." The fact that the Buddhist tantras are later than the Hindu Saṁhitās, Āgamas and Tantras, the former was definitely influenced by the later one.

The extant Mahāpurāṇas do not adhere to the definition of *pañcalakṣaṇas* so do the Upapuāraṇas which were only meant to fulfill the requirements of local cults. The form of worship of the goddess in the DP is mainly tantric. The concept of the Mother Goddess stretches back to remote past. Remains of this cult have been found in the Indus valley civilization. After the Vedic and Upanisadic age the *śakti* cult attend greater importance in the period of the epics. In the puranic age we find complete works dedicated to the Mother Goddess especially in the Upapurāṇas. Our present text shows various *rūpas* of the goddess. She is the *ādyā śakti*[49]. She is associated with Lord Śiva as well as she is shown to be the consorts of other deities. She is again the mātṛkās. She is also Vindhyavāsinī, the mountain goddess sporting in the Vindhyas. In order to analyse these peculiarities let us look back the Aryan and the aboriginal customs in the hoary past. The Aryans belonged to the patriarchal society whereas the aboriginals enjoyed the mother's prominence. They were basically war like people and dwelled in the mountains and the forests. They worshipped the female deities and also indulged in sacrifice, wine and other affairs and believed that on doing so they would be protected from the enemies and other unnatural beings. The Aryans had an antagonist attitude towards these people. By the end of the later Vedic age the intermingling of these two class resulted in cultural assimilation. Gradually, native female deity turned to be the consort of Vedic deity. In this respect it may not be improper to say that the scholars held the view of existence of various mother cults in India which have been combined into one. Let's quote Sudhakar Chattopadhyay who states, "the brahmanical thinkers gradually came to conceive of one Great Mother Goddess and the different mother cults of India came to be

49. 7. 20, 40, 43-44.

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regarded either as parts of or as identical with the great one. ..... even the mother goddess of the Proto-Astroloids merged into the great *śakti* cult in the early centuries of the Christian era.''[50] The Mother Goddess cult has undergone great modifications through the ages. Essentially, the Mother is the one and all are her different aspects. Besides worship and rituals relating the cult, the DP tries to focus on the many sided structure which grew up in course of time which we may derive as Indian culture. The social change from rigid brahmanical orthodox views to acceptance of people of all castes and creed (the *śūdras, caṇḍālas, pulindas, pukvasas* and other tribes are allowed to worship *devī),* elevating position of women to comparatively higher stratum, maturity in imaginative and creative expressions, improvement in the technical and practical skill, education (other than the Vedas) facility for all, development in different branches of sciences, food habits, dealing with the animals - every faculty shows how important the work is. It is a pity that we do not find the original DP, but, nevertheless, the contents of the extant text proves not to be a secondary Purāṇa but a ''lesser known Purāṇa'' of great importance.

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50. Chattopadhya Sudhakar, *The Evolution of Theistic Sects in Ancient India,* p. 53.

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ABHINAYALAKṢAṆA : A NEW INSIGHT TO SEE 108 *KARAṆAS* OF *NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA*

Sharmila Bagchi*

The word *Abhinaya* is a synthesis or the prefix *'abhi'* which means 'towards' and the root *'ni'* which means 'to carry'[1]. Thus. it means 'carrying a presentation towards spectators'. *Abhinaya* is always related with dramatic performance. *Nṛtta* (pure dance) is devoid of *abhinaya* because Bharata says न गीतकार्थसम्बन्धं न चाप्यर्थस्य भावकम् । (NS.4, 262b, p. 172) and it was conceived only to add beauty to a presentation- किं तु शोभां प्रजनयेदिति नृत्तं प्रवर्तितम् । (NS. 4. 264a. p 175). *Abhinaya* related to *nṛtta* has a different identity. As he says-

नृत्तेऽभिनययोगे च पाणिभिर्वर्तनाश्रयैः ।
मुखभ्रूनेत्रयुक्तानि करणानि प्रयोजयेत् ।। NS.9.219

So, a dancer presents *abhinaya* after her *nṛtta* presentation, accompanying with a song and enacts the *bhāvas* (expressions) of the song often using technical aspects of *nṛtta*. *Abhinaya* is a joining step between *nṛtta* and *nāṭya*. This connectivity might have generated the term *nṛtya* - which is a combination of both. Dhanañjaya calls 'nṛtya' as *padārthābhinaya* (enactment of word- meaning)[2]. But *nṛtya* word is used nowhere in *NS* (''Bharata always used the term *nṛtta* not *nṛtya*[3])''.

Abhinaya is divided into four parts- *Sāttvika* (expression), *Āṅgika* (physical), *Vācika* (verbal), *Āhārya* (get-up)[4]. Whenever and wherever the word *'abhinaya'* is used in Sanskrit language, it is understood in the context of these four kinds.

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1. अभिपूर्वस्तु णीञ्धातुराभिमुख्यार्थनिर्णये ।
यस्मात्प्रयोगं नयति तस्मादभिनयः स्मृतः ।।NS, VIII. 6, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol.II, 2001, p.2.
2. DR of Dhanañjaya. 1.14.
3. ''*Nṛtta* is the term not *nṛtya* which is used by Bharata. *Nṛtya* became current after 10th century.'' *Movement and Mimesis*, Mandakranta Bose. D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p. 109.
4. NS. VIII.8; AD verse.3, Edited by M.M.Ghosh, II edition, Calcutta, 1957, p.86.

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The 108 *karaṇas* or the units of dance are described in NS Each *karaṇa* has a specific sense to convey just as each word has in a sentence. As specified by Bharata, a particular set of *karaṇas* form a *aṅgahāra* or a complete dance, just as a selection of words form a sentence or a poem, to convey a finished sentiment or *rasa*. Dr. K.S. Ramaswamy Sastri as if sensed the existence of this work as he said-"It is hoped that in future, only the genuine *Karaṇas*, accompanied by appropriate *recakas*, Vocal and Instrumental music and *Tālas*, will be learnt by the students of *Bharatanātyam* on the lines described by Bharata and explained by Abhinavagupta and Śārṅgadeva in their respective works."[5].

The work *Abhinayalakṣaṇa (AL)* is a digest of 108 dramatic situations - *dṛśyas* (scenes) as the author himself calls them. The 108 *karaṇas* of Bharata are developed in *abhinayas* of same Nos., but give a different meaning to the *abhinaya* - which is complete with all aspects of *abhinaya*, a comprehension of complete *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We all know that pure dance form is known as *nṛtta* and when *bhāvas/abhinayas* with music, are added in it, it becomes *nṛtya*. A never heard or seen before style of work called *Abhinayalakṣaṇa* (AL), is unique in every way. It is a kind of work where *nṛtya* and *nāṭya* go hand in hand with *saṅgīta* because with passage of time, *nṛtya*. *nāṭya* and *saṅgīta* are standing apart with different identities. If one has a combination of other then it is called either *nṛtyanāṭikā* (dance-drama) or *gītanāṭaka* (song- drama). But, neither all of the dramas have dance/music in them nor all the dances have dramatic/song elements. The AL, though is based on dance, but, enlists nearly all the dramatic elements related to a given specific *rasa* and provides a *anukṛtisūcī* (list of accessories) for every *abhinaya*. In fact, it is a complete stage perormance of NS.

The work 'Abhinayalakṣaṇa' (AL)

With the title itself, the author Śivadāsa mentions about the work as नन्दिकेशभरतमतानुसारि (written according to the views of Nandikeśa-Bharata). In *prastāvanā* also, he first mentions Nandikeśa and then Bharat -

देवप्रसादसिध्यर्थं नन्दिकेशेन यत्कृतम् ।
मुनिना भरतेनापि तन्मतद्योतकं परम् ।। (p.1)[6]

Now the question arises that by Nandikeśa, Śivadāsa meant which Nandikeśvara - the author of *Bharatārṇava* (BhA) or *Abhinayadarpaṇa* (AD) whom he considered senior to Bharata? By his statement, it is clear that Bharata's NS was not the first ever work on *Nāṭyaśāstra* (the science of *nāṭya)*. As the author does not mention the names of the works of

5. *Ibid.*

6. Manuscript No. (Acc. No.) 7976, Bhavani Sangrahalaya, Aundh (Maharastra). Pages 270, Size -20 X 29 cm. Grantha -3013.

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Nandikeśa, we wonder he followed which one! The *BhA* holds the strong probability as like *NS*, it also covers the vast field of *nāṭya*. The work *AL* does not carry a *ṭīkā*/commentary *(mūlamātram* - text only) - as the scribe mentions with the title.

The 108 *karaṇas* of *NS* are divided into 9 *rasas* with the suffix *abhinaya* with each one of them. And here lies the difference with *NS*. Bharata did not consider *Śānta* as main *rasa* in the 6th chapter of *Rasādhyāya* and it is also not included in the list of *rasas* in the beginning of the chapter. Till 7th century, *Śānta* was never considered as *rasa* for *nāṭya* purpose (Kālidāsa, Amarasimha, Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha enumerated only 8 *rasas*. excluding *Śānta)*. Only Udbhaṭa, a Kashmiri commentator of NS, was the first one to mention it as *Nāṭyarasa* in his *Kavyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha*[7]. Later on, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta have supported him, but, 11th centurian Dhanañjaya[8] 'vehemently condemned it as unfit for stage'. Since 8th century onward, two rival schools of thought existed in the history of Sanskrit Poetics and dramaturgy. One of them accepted *śāntarasa* as principal *rasa* like other existing eight, while the other one opposed the idea. The critics of NS find the mention *Śānta* as 9th *rasa* in *NS* as found in some Manuscript -copies, is clearly an interpolation done by later commentators. The four MSs considered for the critical edition of NS by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, had only one MS from Trivandrum which contained the interpolated section *of Śānta rasa* while the other three missed the portion. So, when Śivadāsa has composed this work, the theory of nine *rasas* was well established as he has penned 18 *abhinayas* in *Śānta rasa*. The list of *abhinayas* is produced in the beginning of the text -

- अथ अष्टोत्तरशताभिनयनामानि -

(भरतादिपठितक्रमानुसारिणि)[9]

1.	ललाटतिलकाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
2.	पार्श्वनिकुट्टिताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
3.	[10]व्यञ्जिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
4.	वृश्चिकाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
5.	वृश्चिकरेचिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः

7. *Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha of Udbhaṭa*, with Comm. *'Lughuvṛtti'* of Induraja, Edited by Narayana Dasa Banahatti, Aryabhushan Press, Poona, 1925 (First Edition), *Caturtha Varga, Śloka* 4. p.52.
8. *Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya*, Ed. F.E. Hall, Revised by K.L. Joshi, Parimal Publications, Delhi - Ahmedabad, 2009. *Caturtha Prakāśa*, Sl. 33 & Dhanika's *ṭīkā*, on Sl. 43 (P. 117)
9. Sequence of the *karaṇa*-names differ from the NS's sequence, even some names also differ. NS *karaṇas* start with *Talapuspapuṭa*.
10. व्यञ्सितम् -NS, I V, 108, p.117

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6.	क्रान्ताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
7.	कुञ्चिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
8.	चक्रमण्डलाभिनयः	-	भयानकरसद्योतकः
9.	भ्रमरकाभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
10.	चतुराभिनयः	-	भयानकरसद्योतकः
11.	भुजङ्गाञ्चिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
12.	[11]दण्डकरेचिताभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
13.	वृश्चिककुट्टिताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
14.	कटिभ्रान्ताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
15.	लतावृश्चिकाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
16.	[12]चिह्नाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
17.	पादापविद्धाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
18.	वलिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
19.	घूर्णिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
20.	ललिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
21.	दण्डपक्षाभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
22.	भुजङ्गत्रस्तरेचिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
23.	नूपुराभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
24.	वैशाखरेचिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
25.	अर्धस्वस्तिकाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
26.	अञ्चिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
27.	भुजङ्गत्रासिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
28.	ऊर्ध्वजान्वभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
29.	निकुञ्चिताभिनयः	-	भयानकरसद्योतकः
30.	मत्तल्यभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
31.	अर्धमत्तल्यभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
32.	[13]रेचितकुट्टिताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः

11 दण्डरेचितम् -NS, IV, 101, p.114

12. छिन्न - NS, IV,105, p.116

13. रेचकनिकुट्टितम् - NS, IV, 89, p.110

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33.	दण्डकस्वस्तिकाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
34.	अलातकाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
35.	कटिसमाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
36.	सूचिविद्धाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
37.	[14]हरिणाप्लुताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
38.	अतिक्रान्ताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
39.	विष्णुक्रान्ताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
40.	आवर्ताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
41.	[15]डोलापदाभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
42.	विवृत्ताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
43.	पार्श्वक्रान्ताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
44.	अर्धसूच्यभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
45.	नागापसर्पिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
46.	तलसंस्फोटिताभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
47.	वृषभक्रीडिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
48.	आक्षिप्तरेचिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
49.	विक्षिप्ताक्षिप्तकाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
50.	कटिछिन्नाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
51.	अर्धरेचिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
52.	वक्षःस्वस्तिकाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
53.	उन्मत्ताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
54.	स्वस्तिकाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
55.	पृष्ठस्वस्तिकाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
56.	तलपुष्पपुटाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
57.	वर्तिताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
58.	वलितोर्वभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
59.	अपविद्धाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
60.	समनखाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः

14 हरिणप्लुतम् - NS, IV, 143, p.129

15. डोलापाद - NS, IV,105, p.116

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61.	लीनाभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
62.	स्वस्तिकरेचिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
63.	मण्डलस्वस्तिकाभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
64.	[16]दण्डपाताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
65.	निवेशाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
66.	प्रेङ्खोलिताभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
67.	गृध्रावलीनाभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
68.	नितम्बाभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
69.	लोलिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
70.	स्खलिताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
71.	सर्पिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
72.	विद्युद्भ्रान्ताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
73.	सन्नताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
74.	[17]विवर्तकाभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
75.	सूच्यभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
76.	सिंहविक्रीडिताभिनयः	-	बीभत्सरसद्योतकः
77.	अर्गलाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
78.	उरोमण्डलाभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
79.	करिहस्ताभिनयः	-	शान्तरसद्योतकः
80.	[18]सिंहकम्पिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
81.	उद्घट्टिताभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
82.	[19]मत्ताक्रीडिताभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
83.	सम्भ्रान्तकाभिनयः	-	करुणरसद्योतकः
84.	जनिताभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
85.	उपसृतकाभिनयः	-	भयानकरसद्योतकः
86.	पार्श्वजान्वभिनयः	-	शृङ्गाररसद्योतकः
87.	मत्तस्खलिताभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः

16. दण्डपाद - NS, IV, 142, p.129
17. विवर्तितकम् - NS, IV, 127, p.129.
18. Not found in NS
19. मत्ताक्रीडः - NS, IV, 194, p.145

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88.	विक्षिप्ताभिनयः	-	भयानकरसद्योतकः
89.	उद्वृत्ताभिनयः	-	रौद्ररसद्योतकः
90.	तलसंघट्टिताभिनयः	-	रौद्ररसद्योतकः
91.	उद्वृत्ताभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
92.	मयूरललिताभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
93.	दण्डसूच्यभिनयः	-	अद्भुतरसद्योतकः
94.	परिवृत्ताभिनयः	-	भयानकरसद्योतकः
95.	अवहित्थाभिनयः	-	हास्यरसद्योतकः
96.	समतलाभिनयः	-	रौद्ररसद्योतकः
97.	एलकाक्रीडिताभिनयः	-	बीभत्सरसद्योतकः
98.	गजक्रीडिताभिनयः	-	हास्यरसद्योतकः
99.	[20]निशुम्भाभिनयः	-	बीभत्सरसद्योतकः
100.	[21]हस्तसूच्यभिनयः	-	हास्यरसद्योतकः
101.	गरुडप्लुताभिनयः	-	रौद्ररसद्योतकः
102.	विष्कम्भाभिनयः	-	रौद्ररसद्योतकः
103.	सिंहाकर्षिताभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
104.	प्रसर्पितकाभिनयः	-	बीभत्सरसद्योतक़ः
105.	आक्षिप्ताभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
106.	अपक्रान्ताभिनयः	-	हास्यरसद्योतकः
107.	शकटास्याभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः
108.	गङ्गावतरणाभिनयः	-	वीररसद्योतकः

The 108 *abhinayas,* divided into nine *rasas,* each of them accompanied by their own *anukṛtisūcī* of suitable *Gaṇikā* (dancer). *[Raṅga] Sthala* (stage of scene/location). *Rasa, Sakhā* (companians/friends/co-actors). *Devatā* (God), *Nāyikā* (heroine), *Icchā* (desire), Phala (outcome), Yoga (inclusion), *Bhāva, Sattva. Alaṅkṛti* (make-up/get-up). *Daśā* (age-status of the character). *Śikṣā* (training), *Nāyaka* (hero) and *Mudrā* (hand-gesture). Sometimes *Ṛtu* (season) and *Samaya* (time) are also mentioned. He gives the description of *Anukṛtisūcī* as

20. निस्तम्भितम् -NS, IV, 124, p.123
21. Not found in NS

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- अथ अनुकृतिसूचिकाविवरणम् -

प्रयोगचतुराः सूक्ष्मधीभृतो रङ्गमाश्रिताः ।
नाट्याचार्याः शुद्धमिश्रसम्बन्धक्रमवेदिनः ।।
अङ्गहारादिचतुराः यौवनाद्यैर्विभूषिताः ।
गणिका याः समादिष्टास्तासु तत्करणक्रमम् ।।
निक्षिपेयुर्बहुविधं कल्पयेयुश्च कल्पनाः ।
यत्काव्यं ललितं प्रोक्तं पुरावृत्तरसोज्वलम् ।।
तदाश्रितं च करणं दर्शयेयुः क्रमोदयम् ।
रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहमभयादयः ।।
तासूपदेशः शस्तश्च तेषां कालकलाफलः ।
ततः सिद्धयाः नाट्यभेदाः भवेयु रसदर्शकाः ।।
तस्मादनुकृतिः पूर्वं ज्ञेयाचार्यादिभिः स्थले ।
आदौ नाम ज्ञेययुक्तं करणानां क्रमोदयम् ।।
गणिकाश्चापि निर्देश्याः रसभेदवशात्ततः ।
स्थलं रसः सखा देवः नायिकाजातिरीरिता ।।
इच्छाफलं योगभावौ सत्त्वं चालङ्कृतिस्तथा ।
दशाशिक्षाक्रमपरा नायकश्चापि मुद्रिकाः ।।
प्रयोज्यमेतत्सर्वत्र यथाक्रममतन्द्रितैः ।
तैरेव सिद्धिर्भवति क्रमज्ञैर्नाट्यकोविदैः ।।

Written in simple *anuṣṭubha* metre, the work is divided into nine *prakaraṇas* (chapters). In the beginning itself, the text is divided in chapters and the lists of the contents used in the work in form of *visayasūcikā* (index). It is difficult to ascertain that whether it was arranged in the same way in the original text or it is done by the transcriber cum scribe himself. The credit seems to be of the scribe because it has the page numbers in English (of the transcribed-work) mentioned with them. The work starts with *maṅgalācaraṇa* and then followed by *prastāvanā* (in verses). After this, follows the four paged *viṣayasūcikā* with all the features of the text. After this, again a versified *anukṛtisūcikāvivaraṇam* appears where each *abhinava's* supporting accessory- list *(anukṛtisūcī)* is classified. Each *abhinaya* (scene) has a specifically required surrounding/stage to enact, reflecting the mood of the *rasa* (details follow further). The *śṛṅgārarasa* (1st chapter) has maximum No. of *abhinaya i.e.* 36 and *hāsya* (2nd chapter) along with *bībhatsa* (7th chapter) has minimum 4 *abhinayas*. Then, followed by *karuṇa* 17, *raudra* 5. *vīra* 10, *bhayānaka* 6, *adbhuta* 8 and *śāntarasa* has 18 *abhinayas*. His list of

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abhinayanāmāni starts with *Lalāṭatilakābhinaya* (belonging to *śāntarasa)* unlike Bharata's *Talapuṣpapuṭa* (it is a *śṛṅgārarasābhinaya* here). His sequence of *karaṇa* names is different from NS (no reason is given for this change) though he writes - *Bharatadipaṭhitakramānusāriṇī* (भरतादिपठितमतानुसारिणि) for example, the very first *abhinaya* of the work -

।। श्रीः ।।

अथ अभिनयलक्षणे प्रथमं प्रकरणम् -

(शृङ्गाररसाभिनयलक्षणात्मकम् -

36 अभिनयाः शृङ्गाररसनिष्पादकाः -

(1) तत्राद्यस्य भुजङ्गाञ्चिताभिनयस्य लक्षणम् - (क्रमे 11)

अनुकृतिसूचिका

1.	अभिनयनाम	-	[22]भुजङ्गाञ्चिताभिनयः
2.	नाट्यगणिकानाम	-	वराङ्गना यौवनभूषिता
3.	स्थलं	-	एकान्तस्थलं
4.	रसः	-	अनुभवशृङ्गाररसः
5.	सखा	-	सखीप्रमुखाः
6.	देवता	-	रतिनायकः
7.	नायिकाजातिः	-	उत्तमनायिका
8.	इच्छा	-	आनन्दरसेच्छा
9.	फलं	-	पुनरपि तादृशरसप्राप्त्यर्थं देवस्तुति
10.	योग	-	पुनः समागमः
11.	भावः	-	शृङ्गारोद्दीपकस्थायिभावः
12.	सत्त्वं	-	शुद्धानुभवसत्त्वं
13.	अलङ्कृतिः	-	शृङ्गारालङ्करणं
14.	दशा	-	यौवनदशा
15.	शिक्षा	-	स्वकीयशिक्षा नटकृतशिक्षा च ।

अथेदानीं षट्त्रिंशद्भेदविभक्तं शृङ्गाराभिनयलक्षणमभिधास्ये । तत्रादौ भुजङ्गाञ्चिताभिनयः प्राथमिकः । शृङ्गाररस-निष्पादकः । तामिमभिनयं प्रदर्शयितुं नानाभिनयव्यञ्जनविभावादिचतुरया यौवनमण्डितया गणिकया रङ्गस्थलङ्ककार्यम् । तदनु नटादिभिरिति तत्क्रमः । सर्वेषां सुलभबोधाय तल्लक्षणं पद्यैर्यथा निबध्यते -

22. भुजङ्गत्रासितः पादो दक्षिणो रेचितकरः ।।
लताख्यश्च करो वामो भुजङ्गाञ्चितकमं भवति । NS, IV. 100b-101a, p.114

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नायिका चोत्तमा श्लाघ्यगुणालङ्कारशोभिनी ।
निजभर्त्रा रहो धीरललितेन चिरं सुखम् ।।
सम्प्राप्य मुदिता काले ह्यवाङ्मनसगोचरम् ।
सल्लापाद्या बहुविधाः लीलाश्चापि मनोहराः ।।
सम्प्रवृत्तस्तयोस्तत्र कुसुमेषुचोदिताः ।
अथ साभिनयव्यक्तीकर्तुमात्मसुखं परम् ।।
सायन्तनेऽथ सम्प्राप्ते कुसुमोल्लासभासुरे ।
सम्प्रवृत्ता तु पुरतः सखीनां च प्रमोदकृत् ।
मन्दहासोल्लसद्वक्त्रा चादौ स्वं वामपादकम् ।
विन्यस्य हि पुरोदेशे तिष्ठन्ती च क्षणं मुदा ।।
आकुञ्चितं तं च पादं कृत्वा तदनु सुन्दरी ।
दक्षिणं पादमथवा वामजानूपरि स्थितम् ।।
कलयित्वा विशेषेण किंचिद्ध्वं विधाय च ।
ततो दक्षिणहस्तं तु लम्बयित्वा कृशोदरी ।।
क्षणं कृत्वा सव्यहस्तमुद्धतं च क्रमान्मुदा ।
यत्सुखं परमं जातं स्वनायकसमागमात् ।
तत्प्रदर्शयितुं काले चोत्प्लुत्य भामिनी ।।
गायन्ती मधुरं गीतं गत्वा वक्रगतिक्रमात् ।
पुरतः पृष्ठतश्चैवममन्दान्दनिर्भरा ।।
नवाभिनयसंक्रान्ता यदि स्यात् शुद्धसत्त्वभाक् ।
भुजङ्गाश्रित इत्येवं भरतादिभिरीरितः ।।
आश्लेषमुद्रा[23] च तदा बाहुभ्यां कलितुं क्रमात् ।
नियमश्च प्रयोगज्ञैः बहुधा सम्प्रकीर्तितः ।
चुम्बनाश्लेषयोगादिप्रदर्शनपरा वधूः ।।
सखीभिः प्राप्तलीलाभिरासनं च शुभप्रदम् ।।
तया साकं नर्तनं तु सखीनां हि निषिध्यते ।
परन्त्वाह्लादसम्प्राप्तिः कलनीयेति कीर्तिता ।।
रतीशपूजा नाट्यान्ते कार्येति परिकीर्तिता ।
नायकागमनं तत्र प्रशस्तमिति निश्चितम् ।।

In same manner all *abhinayas* are written as scenes with a story-line/situation which highlights that specific *rasa*.

23. *Āslesamudrā* - Hands in embrace/contact.

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The technical terms of NS are used wherever required, but, Śivadāsa never explains them as *karaṇa. Aṅgahāra, nṛtta/nṛtyahasta, recaka* etc, for he takes it for granted that whoever is reading or using this work is a *niṣṇāta* (expert) in *nāṭyaśāstra*. Neither does he explain the reasons for differing some of the names of *karaṇas* or their sequence. He cites only the names of *nāṭyācāryas* of earlier times - Nandikeśa, Bharata, Dattila, Kohala, Nārada (not their works) who sound mythological rather than mortal. This makes the work and the author both mystical as well as ancient.

The Author

Following the tradition of the old school of Sanskrit scholars of not disclosing their identity, the author Śivadāsa has written nothing about himself except his name which sounds more like an adjective than a name. The predecessors cited by him like Nandikeśa or Nandikeśvara *(BhA* -5-11th century), Bharata *(NS* - 6^{lh} century), Dattila *(Dattilam* - probably before 10 century), Nārada (?) also belong to centuries ago. But, absence of Abhinavagupta (11th century), Jāyasena (13^{1h} century). Śarṅgadeva (13th century) and Nandikeśvara's *AD* (post 14th century), indicate that he might have lived before 10th century. The way he has accepted *śānta* as ninth *rasa.* assures us that he belonged to post-Bharata age as from 7th century onward, during the time when the advocacy for *śānta* as ninth *rasa* started (see NS vol.1, Introduction, GOS- Oriental Institute, pp. 49-51). So he must have existed somewhere between 7th to 10th century.

The Scribe

The scribe or rather transcriber of the work, himself is an interesting person. Aundh Museum Library has many manuscript-copies transcribed in *Devanāgarī* by *Paṅḍita* V. Vijayaraghavacharya. All the works are dated and has his name mentioned as signature- 'Pandit V. Vijayaraghavacharya, Epigraphist' and then the date and the year when the work was commenced. As he has mentioned at the end of this work.

Transcribed by Pandit V. Vijavaraghavacharya, Epigraphist, Mylapore S. India on 10^{h} Wednesday, May 1933 A.D.

इति शिलासनपरिशोधकेन पण्डित-विजयराघवाचार्येण तथामातृकं लिखितम् ।।

He himself was a great Sanskrit scholar. M. Krishnamachariar has given a life-sketch of V. Vijayaraghavacharya in the '*History of Classical Sanskrit literature*'[24]. He is mentioned as a trained epigraphist who worked at Sri Venkateswara Devasthana, Tirupati. He was a sound

24. M. Krishnamachariyar, *History of Classical Sanskrit literature* Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1974, pp. 308a- 308b.

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scholar of Sanskrit who composed many long and short poems, plays - based on religion, moral, devotion and contemporary Indian freedom movement and its heroes. He was born near Kanchi in the year 1884 and got his education there only. He was well versed with English as he had translated *'Gajaśāstra'* of Pālakāpyamuni in English while transcribing it in *Devanāgarī* and drew the sketches of Elephants. By his many transcribed works, it seems that he knew many scripts though he never mentioned the original script's name in any of his transcriptions.

Noteworthy points in Śivadāsa's treatment of *Abhinaya*

According to Śivadāsa, following elements are needed to accomplish an *ahhinaya*-

1. Abhinaya

In *nṛtya* (dance), *abhinaya* means suggesting ideas and emotions to spectators. When *nṛtta* (pure dance) is accompanied with emotions *(bhāvas)* then it becomes *nṛtya* and a specific theme or story is presented following the meaning of a song then it becomes *abhinaya*.

Śivadāsa has developed 108 *karaṇas* (accepted by all *nāṭyaśāstris)* in *abhinayas,* taking the help of all four faculties- *Āṅgika, Vācika, Sāttvika* and *Āhārya*.

2. Gaṇikā (Nartakī/Dancer)

A very strange feature of this work is, calling a *Nartakī/ naṭī / Abhinetrī* - a *Gaṇikā*. If we go by the defination of *gaṇikā*, it will not match with of 'Śivadāsa's *gaṇikā* because what probably Śivadāsa meant by the word is a 'dancer or actress', but, elsewhere we find this word meaning 'courtesan' who may be a court-dancer/prostitute. However, Bharata's *NS,* being a compendium for dancers and actors, does not mention *'gaṇikā'* as dancer or performer, though he has discussed *veśyā* as *bāhyā-strī,* while explaining the *nāyikās* of drama *(Prakararaṇa)*[25]. Śivadāsa makes it a point that not any common *gaṇikā* can participate in the *abhinayas*. He has specifically quoted twelve names of *gaṇikās*.

***3. Abhinayasthala* (Location)**

To make his *abhinayas* more realistic and effective, Śivadāsa has listed 10 *abhiṇayasthalas* (place of enactment of the scene), according to the theme of the scene. It may be taken as the set of modern plays of present time. Surprisingly most of them are out-door locations.

25. NS.*22.146* b.

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4. *Sakhā* (Friends)

The word *'sakhā'* which stands for friend. is used here in various meanings. It may be assumed here for *prekṣaka* (spectator) / companion / friend. which means each *abhinaya* has its own spectators in form of *sakhā* / *sakhās,* be it one or many. Śivadāsa mentions five kinds of *sakhās* - *sakhyāh sakhāyāśca* (male-female friends of hero / heroine), *nāyaka* (hero), *devatā* (god), *naṭādi* (co-actors), *ātmā* (self / soul).

5. *Nāyikā* (Heroine)

Śivadāsa gives a list of 12 *nāyikās* without classifying them in *Uttamā. Maddhyamā* and *Adhamā* categories. He has mixed their categories with their *avasthās* (state of age) and *guṇas* (qualities).

6. *Devatā* (Gods / Deities)

In NS, Bharata has mentioned of 8 *devatās* (deities) or 8 *rasas* (as he has mentioned 8 *rasas* only) Śivadāsa agrees to this arrangement, but, adds Viṣṇu as the deity of *śāntarasa* (9[th] *rasa)* also while enlisting the 18 (!)names of the *devatās.*

7. *Icchā* (Desire)

Śivadāsa clearly indicates the *Icchā* (desire /intension) of his 'characters' in the *anukṛtisūcī* (list) of every *abhinaya* to make the *bhāva* of each *abhinaya* understandable. He explains the term thus -

तत्तदभिनयानुकूलविषयेच्छा तत्रतत्रज्ञेया ।[26]

At some places, he uses the word *abhilāṣā* also for the same term.

8. *Phala* (ultimate achievement / outcome)

Śivadāsa declares in advance, the *Phala* (achievement) of an *abhinaya* in the given list. Probably, he intended that a *gaṇikā* should know on emotional level, what Aesthetic height (through *bhāva* and all) she has to reach to attain this *phala* (goal)!

9. *Yoga* (emotional properties?)

The use of the word *'yoga'* in this perspective, however, is very flexible because, here what he seems to intend is the emotions, sentiments, actions or *bhāvas* should be added *(yoga)* along with the other required basic things (in *anukṛti),* which in terms prove to be the accessories.

26. AL, *Anukṛtisūcikā,* p.17.

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***10. Bhāva* (Emotion)**

Śivadāsa mentions 6 kinds of *bhāva* which include *vibhāva, anubhāva, sthāyibhāva, sañcāribhāva, vyabhicāribhāva* (Both?), *sāttvikabhāva.*

11. Sattva

Sāṅkhya philosophy mentions of three kinds of *prakṛti* which are present in *sṛṣṭi* (creation) - *sattva, rajas, tamas,* which in turn represent *prakāśa - ānanda* (light), *Cañcala - dukkha* (sorrow), *moha* (illusion). When realization of a *rasa* takes place in the conscious of the spectator, the *sattva (bhāva)* is aroused and *rajas* and *tamas* are suppressed.

Śivadāsa talks of 5 kinds of *sattva* (his innovation!) - *śuddhasattva, miśrasattva. saṅkirṇasattva, rajasasattva, tamasasattva,* whereas Bharata has mentioned *sattva* only in reference to *sāttvikābhinaya*

***12. Alaṅkṛti* (get-up / dress-up)**

Śivadāsa does not forget to mention the *Alaṅkṛti* (get-up) for the character of each *abhinaya. Though* in *anukṛtisūcikāvivaraṇam,* he only writes नवरसाभिनयानुकूला तत्र तत्र ज्ञेया ।

***13. Daśā* (Age-status/category)**

Śivadāsa has specifically mentioned the different stages of life of the characters of each *abhinaya* in the category called *'daśā'*. In the *Anukṛtisūcikāvivaraṇa,* he states 5 kinds of *daśās - bālyadaśā* (childhood), *bālyayouvanadaśā* (teen-age), *youvanadaśā* (youth), *prauḍhadaśā* (middle-age), *vṛddhadaśā* (old-age).

***14. Śikṣā* (Training)**

Śivadāsa stresses on the training of *nāṭyagaṇikā*. According to him, the *gaṇikā* should be properly trained, as different characters of all the *abhinayas,* need specific training to enact them.

***15. Mudrā* (Gesticulation by hands)**

Though AL has used all the elements related with *abhinaya,* given in *nāṭya-granthas* which he has known (though in his preferred sequence), but, there are certain accessories which he has used other than these *granthas.* Here the term *'mudrā'* is used along with *'nṛtyahastas'* for hand gestures whereas NS and other *nāṭya-granthas* only have *nṛtyahastas* in three categories

Epilogue:

Abhinayalakṣaṇa is an unusual work not only in its concept, but, its methodical and

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practical approach to NS. It proves that the *abhinaya* concept or NS, all its *aṅgas, upāṅgas* etc. described there. are for practical purpose and not just for definition's sake. Especially the way, concept of each *karaṇa* is designed, it is simply wonderful. What today's scholars are thinking that *karaṇas* are neither mere static positions (as depicted in sculptures of some temples or as we know by the definition of each *karaṇa* given in NS), nor they act only as basic units of *aṅgahāras* (as said in NS), Śivadāsa developed each of them in a full-length entity, nearly ten centuries ago!

These *abhinayas* may provide a digest to a performing artist of dance, to create new story-ideas for *nṛtyābhinaya*. Even these *abhinayas* may be added in between a *nāṭaka* as interlude or as *prakarī* or in *pūvaraṅga*, their independent nature provide many options. They can be developed in a complete-form for any *daśarūpaka*, depending on the story's characteristics.

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A STUDY OF THE SOCIETY AND CULTURE DURING THE SENA PERIOD IN THE KINGDOM OF MAKWANPUR

Basudevlal Das*

Abstract

With the attack on Nadia by Muhammad ibn Bakhtyar Khilji in 1202 AD, the rule of the Sena dynasty did not prevail in Bengal. After this, in the course of time, the descendants of the Sena dynasty became able to establish their territory in the land of present-day Nepal and so the kingdom of Makwanpur was founded during the 13th or 14th century. The kingdom of Makwanpur was subjugated by the then rising political power of Gorkhalis in 1762 A.D. The Sena rulers maintained their rich social and cultural traditions in the kingdom of Makwanpur. As they were orthodox Hindus, the society and culture of the area under their rule were settled on the basis of Hindu tradition. The knowledge of society and culture during the Sena's rule is important for the understanding of social and cultural history of Nepal and even of Bihar (India). So, in this article, the main aspects of society and culture are discussed.

Key words: The Sena dynasty, Social Classification, Dresses and Ornaments, Food and Drinks, Language and Literature, Religion.

Introduction: According to the Deopada Stone Inscription of Vijayasena, the Senas claim to belong to the lunar race. They were settled in Bengal as a ruling dynasty. By the attack of Muhammad ibn Bakhtyar Khilji in 1202 A.D., the rule of King Lakṣmaṇasena, the last ruler of Bengal of this dynasty, ended.[1] After this, during the 13th or 14th century, the Senas appeared in the land of Nepal and the kingdom of Makwanpur was established. The expansion of the kingdom of the Senas covered the area of twenty-two districts of present-day Nepal. Lastly, the kingdom of Makwanpur was subjugated by the newly rising political power of Gorkhalis in 1762 A.D. The social and cultural history of the kingdom of Makwanpur was not much different from that of north Bihar (India). Both the societies had similarities in many

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1. Pathak, (1990), p. 312

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aspects of the social life of the people.[2]

Social Classification: In those days the system of *Varṇāśrama* was prevalent in the society. At the same time, the caste system was also prevalent. The *Varṇāśrama* system was the system of the classification of society established by the Hindus and the description of the duties performable in different stages by the people in society.[3] There were four *Varṇas Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* in the society. The Sena kings originally called themselves *Brahmakṣatriyas.*[4]

There were various castes and sub-castes. The word caste (from Latin *Castus,* pure) was loosely used by the Portuguese to denote the Indian social classification as they thought that the system was intended to preserve purity of blood.[5] The *Varṇāśrama* system had come to stay but its rigidity had been in a state of flux. With the development of different arts, professions and crafts, various castes and sub-castes came into existence.[6] There are many evidences which show that the people of several castes lived in the kingdom of Makwanpur. The *Brāhmaṇas* were the supreme caste in hierarchy. They were priests and were granted *Birtā* lands for their performances of *Purohita Karma.*[7] Besides, they were the *Gurus* of the Sena rulers[8].

Among the *Kṣatriyas,* the main family was that of *Bāniyās.* They were the chief ministers to the Sena kings of Makwanpur. There are so many inscriptions in which the *Bāniyās* were shown as *Devāna.*[9] Another family among the *Kṣatriyas* was the family of *Mahata.* These people also had an influencial role in the kingdom. It is said that Naravira Mahat was an architect of the fort of Makwanpur. He was granted a *Birtā* land of thirtyone *Bighās* for his architectural service to the kingdom.[10] Likewise, the *Kirāta* people were very powerful in the kingdom. They were also *Devāna* and called themselves *Rājabhārasamartha.*[11] Sometimes they enjoyed more powers than the king, especially in Vijaypur kingdom during the Sena's rule.

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2. Hamilton, (1986), p.169
3. Khatri, (1980), p.72
4. Sircar, (1983), p.115
5. Dutta, (1968), p.1
6. Choudhary, (1958), p.120
7. Rajvanshi, (2018-2020 VS), Part II, pp. 10-11
8. Jha, (1980), p.32
9. Khanal,(2030 VS), p.32
10. Amatya, (1971), p.41
11. Rajvanshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18

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Other castes were mainly *Rājavaṅśī*,[12] *Sārkī*,[13] *Thārū*,[14] *Chepāṅga, Tāmāṅga, Magara, Danuvāra* etc.[15] Among these, the *Chepāṅgas* and *Thārūs* were considered as aboriginal. In this social classification, the preponderance of the *Brāhmaṇas* was firmly established. They were the *Purohitas* and *Gurus* and so they had an influence upon the rulers. Likewise, being a supreme caste hierarchically, they had also their preponderance on the people in general.

Social Life, Marriage and Status of Women: The institution of family plays an important role in social life. In those days the joint family system was prevalent in the kingdom of Makwanpur, The father was the head of the family and the mother, the mistress of the house. The eldest son was second to the father in importance and all possible respects were paid to him by his youngers. In case if the grandfather and grandmother also survived, they were not only respected but venerated. *Atithisatkāra* (care of the guests) was one of the fundamental duties of the Hindus.[16] At the time of the disputes, the property of the house was divided equally among the brothers. In the case of the royal family, generally the state was indivisible and only the eldest son was the successor of the king and the kingdom. But, there are instances that the kingdoms of Makwanpur and Vijaypur under the rule of the Sena dynasty were divided on the disputes of succession.

People performed many *Saṅskāras* (rituals) from birth to death. At the time of birth the *Jātakarma Saṅskāra* and at the death, the *Antyeṣṭi Saṅskāra* were observed. Besides these two, there were other *Saṅskāras* observed according to *Kula Dharma Paramparā* (familial tradition). There were many kinds of superstitions in the society. Traditionally and historically, the institution of marriage had its own glorious ideal in Hindus. But among the kings, this was used sometimes for the political purposes also. The kings of Makwanpur had matrimonial relations with different families and dynasties. They were the families from *Gulmī, Arghā, Madhyadeśa, Pyuṭhanā, Gorkhā, Lalmjuṅga, Kāmarūpavihāra* etc.[17] Pradyumna Upadhyaya, a *Devāna* of king Śubhasena, was himself a *Brāhmaṇa* from Tanahun, offered his daughter in marriage to an officer Parashuram Thapa, a *Khaśa,* for ensuring the latter in a conspiracy against the king.[18] In this way, the institution of marriage was frequently used for the political purposes. Though, polygamy was discouraged in the society, yet widely practised. It was

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12. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p.156
13. *Ibid.*, p.145
14. Panjiyar,(1993)., pp.25-26
15. Mechidekhi Mahakali, (2031 VS). part Madhyamanchala, pp. 988-991
16. Pandey, (1972), p.131
17. Rajvanshi, (2020 VS), pp.2-4
18. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p.138

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quite prevalent in the royal families. The king Mukundasena II of Makwanpur had three wives,[19] while his son Lohaṅgasena had seven wives.[20] The king Hambīirasena of Tanahun had nine wives.[21] Likewise, king Māndhātāsena of Vijaypur was married but neglected his wife and had eighteen illegitimate children.[22] By these evidences, it can be inferred that the kings had concubines except many married wives. On the other hand, in some cases the queen had assumed the whole power of the state in absence of the king. It is evident that the queen Jīvadevī, wife of king Indra Bidhātāsena of Vijaypur, had issued a *Syāhāmohara* e.g. black sealed ordinance.[23] Likewise, around the year 1708 AD a queen-regent wielded enormous influences in the kingdom of Makwanpur.[24] From an inscription of king Hemakarṇasena of Makwanpur dated 1801 *Vikrama Samvat* (1745 AD), we know that the name of his queen Dhanalakṣmi Devi is also mentioned with the names of other persons of genealogy.[25] These examples throw some lights on the status of women. The custom of *Satī* was also observed and the widows were always looked down upon by the society.[26] There was a place located as *Satī Ghāṭa* in the then kingdom of Vijaypur, which was the evidence of *Satī* system in the society.[27] But this custom was not necessarily for all. We have come to know that widow-queen of the Sena dynasty tried to take revenge from Gorkhalis and hoped the assistance from the king of Pālpā.[28]

Dresses and Ornaments: The kingdom of Makwanpur occupied the area of hill-side and plain land of Tarai. The dresses and ornaments of the people of the Tarai region were similar to the dresses and ornaments of the people of north Bihar (India), while the people of the hill-side wore the dresses and ornaments like the people of Kathmandu valley and that of Tibet. The sources for the study of dresses and ornaments are statues of gods and goddesses and the kings and the queens.[29] In the case of women, *Kañcukī, Colī* (blouse), *Kucabandha* (brassiere), bodice and *Sārī* were worn and in the case of men, *Mirjai* (long upper garment),

19. Rajvanshi, (2020 VS), p. 4
20. *Ibid.*, p. 9
21. *Ibid.*, p.8
22. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p.139
23. Rajvanshi, (2018-2020 VS),*op.cit.*, p. 5
24. Regmi, (1961). Vol.3, p. 38
25. Khanal, (2028 VS), pp. 125-127
26. Pandey, *op.cit.*, p.131
27. Acharya, (2030 VS), p. 159
28. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p.142
29. Pandey, *op.cit.*, p.137

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Ganjī (under garment for the upper part), *Labedā* (a shirt- like garment), *Dhotī* (loin-cloth) and *Kurtā* (upper garment) etc. were the main dresses. In the hill-side the *Suruvāla* (tight trouser) was worn and *Pagarī* was worn on head while in the Tarai region *Uttarīya* (outer garment) and *Pāga* (Upon head) were worn. The two districts of present-day Nepal, namely Saptari and Mahottari were main regions of the kingdom of Makwanpur in those days. It is said that these two areas were named after the term *Uttaritya*. For the footwear, men used *Kharāun* or *Pādukā* (wooden sandal) and shoes.

For the study of ornaments used by the people, the main sources are pictures, paintings, sculptures, images of gods and goddesses etc. which are available. Ornaments were used by both men and women during the rule of the Sena dynasty in the kingdom. As this kingdom had mixed society, the influences from Mithila (north Bihar) and Kathmandu valley had rooted in it. Likewise, the cultural influence of the *Kirāta* people had also been observed in the society. The supreme ornament for women was *Sindūra* (vermilion), which was used by married women and considered it as a symbol of women's happy state of enjoying coverture. Besides, they wore several ornaments on their ears, nose, neck, wrist, fingers, waist and ankles. It is said that the king Hemakarṇasena (1730-1759 AD) of Makwanpur had offered his daughter, at the time of her marriage, a *Naulakhāhāra,* a valuable necklace.[30] Generally, the ornaments made from gold were not used on the lower part than waist. Besides the gold, silver, copper, iron, bones of beasts etc. were utilized for the preparation of ornaments. For men, the main ornaments were the *Tilaka* (an ornamental or religious mark over the forehead), necklace and rings on the fingers. The *Brāhmaṇas* and other upper caste Hindus wore the *Yajñopavīta,* the sacred thread.

Food and Drinks: People produced materials for their food and drinks. Rice, maize, wheat were their main crops. Besides, they ate different kinds of pulses, vegetables and fruits. They used oil and ghee and several spices in their food with salt and turmeric. There were both vegetarian and non-vegetarian kind of people. The non-vegetarian used several kinds of meat and wine. When going to the residence of *Subbā,* it is said that, the *Raitīs* used to go with the presents of meat and wine.[31] The *Pāna* (betel leaf) and *Makhāna* (a kind of dry fruit) were taken at the auspicious occasions. Besides these, curd, milk and sweets were eaten. There were many kinds of fruits like mango, banana etc. were eaten. Fish was most popular food in the society.

Festivals and Recreations: Festivals were deeply rooted in the life of people. Most of the festivals were religious. There were many festivals celebrated throughout the year. People

30. Stiller, (1968), p. 43

31. Mechīdekhi Mahākālī, (2031 VS). part Purvanchala, p.70

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took fasting (*Upavāsa*) on holy dates (*Tithi*) and offered the *Dāna* (religious gift) to the *Brāhmaṇas*. On these dates different gods and goddesses were worshipped. For recreations, people enjoyed several occasions in different ways. On different holy-dates the *Melā* (fairs) were organized at holy places. In such a *Melā* on the holy bank of the river Narayani or Shaligrami at Devaghata, it is said that king Hemakarṇasena saw Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Sāh, the prince of Gorkha with whom his daughter was married later.[32] Drama played a significant role in recreation for the people. On several auspicious occasions, like the occasion of victory in war, the birth of princes, coronations etc., dramas were performed. A court-poet and dramatist, during the reign of Hariharasena (1631-1672 AD), Umapati Upadhyaya wrote a drama named *Pārijātaharaṇa*. Many folk-dances, folk-dramas, folk-songs and music were the means of recreations for the people. Likewise, wrestling was also a part of recreation. In the palaces or in the houses of nobles, one of the means of recreation was to play with *Kaurīs* (cowries or small sea-shell of Indian Ocean). They played many games with *Kaurīs* like gambling and *Pacīsī* (a type of game famous even nowadays in Maithili communities). People in palace and the family members of nobles used *Hukkā* (hookah or tobacco pipe with long flexible tube and vase of water through which smoke was drawn) for smoking purposes. On the other hand, the artists and magicians from India were invited and programmes were managed specially from the time of *Rāmanavamī* for a week and even for a month in the month of Chaitra for the enjoyment and recreations. These days were very much pleasurable.[33]

Religions: The sources of religious history of Makwanpur are the inscriptions and religious monuments in the forms of image, temple etc. On the basis of these evidences and of the traditions, the state of religions among the people and society can be traced. The Senas were orthodox Hindus from Bengal.[34] The Palas, former ruling dynasty than the Senas, were replaced by the Senas, who inaugurated something of an anti-Buddhist reaction.[35] The Pālas of Bengal were patrons of Buddhism, but their sucessors, the Senas, were *Śaivas* and *Vaiṣṇavas*.[36] There is no evidence available of the Senas about other religions except Hinduism.[37] The kings and the people of the kingdom of Makwanpur as a whole worshipped God Viṣṇu. There are inscriptions which show that the Sena king offered the *Birtā* land-grant for the worship of the God Rāma-Jānakī and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.[38] Likewise, in other inscriptions, it is said that the Senas of Makwanpur granted the *Birtā* land to the priest of God Śrīvaṅśagopāla and God

32. Acharya,(2024 VS). pp.128-129
33. Mechīdekhi Mahākālī, (2031 VS). part Madhyamanchala. p.977
34. Smith, (1951), pp. 97-98
35. Basham, (1975), p. 74
36. Majumdar,(1956), p. 47
37. Pandey, (1988), p.119
38. Vajracharya and Shrestha, (2037 VS), pp.488-492

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Varāha.[39]

Prabhasa is the name of a place about three kilometers southward from Tānsena (Pālpā), now in the Lumbini zone of present Nepal. There, in a small temple an image of God Viṣṇu with a *Śāligrāma* (a black stone which is considered as a symbol of God Viṣṇu) is established. Eastward from this temple, there is a mount in which the images of Viṣnu and Vaṅśīgopāla are found. It is believed that the areas near the river Gandaki were the areas of the *Vaiṣṇavas.* The river Gandaki is called Shaligrami also. With the flow of this river, the wave of Vaisnavism spread over the areas and the kings of adjacent territories were the devotees of gods Rāma and Krṣṇa, which are accepted as the incarnations of God Viṣṇu. In the papers issued by the Sena kings the names of Śrīrāma, Śrībhavānī, Śrīṛṣikeśa etc. are mentioned from which it is known that these Sena kings had a great reverence in Vaisnavism.[40] The religion of Saivism also flourished during the period of the Sena dynasty in the kingdom of Makwanpur. The king Māndhātāsena granted land to a monastery on the eastern bank of the river Kamalā and established a *Śivaliṅga* named Sāreśvaranātha Mahādeva.[41] Likewise, the king Māṇikasena, in the very year of his enthronement in 1707 AD, established a *Śivaliṅga* and endowed ample land for its maintenance at the village Mahuvan, now in Parsa district, Nepal.[42] In the year 1740 AD the king Jagatasena and in the year 1753 AD the king Hemakarṇasena bestowed the *Kuśa-Birtā* land-grant rights over the land in Janakpur *Maujā* and the Bāraha Kaṭṭī *Maujā* to abbot Sītalagiri of Kuvā monastery.[43] This Kuvā monastery is a *Śaiva* monastery, now known as Kūpeśvaranātha Mahādeva, which is situated within the municipal area of Janakpurdham, Nepal. Likewise, an inscription shows that the *Śaiva* monastery of Jaleshwar, now in Mahottari district, Nepal was granted land for its maintenance by the king of Makwanpur.[44] The king Hemakarṇasena founded a *Śivaliṅga* named Hemakarṇeśvara Mahādeva, with a stone inscription in 1745 AD at the village Ghantegaun near Hariharapur Garhi, which is at present in Sindhuli district, Nepal.[45]

People believed in Saktism also. It is evident from an inscription that the Sena rulers granted land for the worshipping of Śrīkālikā in Vijaypur.[46] The worshipping of Rājadevī (goddess of the state) and Garhīmāī (mother goddess of the fort) were prevalent in those

39. Rajvanshi,(2018-2020 VS).part II. pp.18-19, part III. pp. 35-36
40. Shrestha,(1982), p.75
41. Acharya, (2024 VS), p.78
42. Mechīdekhi Mahākālī, (2031 VS). part Madhyamanchala p.1154
43. Burghart,(1978), p.282
44. Vajracharya and Shrestha, *op.cit.*, p.547
45. Khanal, (2028 VS), pp.126-127
46. Vajracharya and Shrestha, *op.cit.*, p.505

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days. This kind of worshipping is prevalent even now as there are many places in the districts of Makwanpur, Parsa, Bara, Rautahata, Sarlahi, Mahottari, Saptari etc. in Nepal with the shrines of Rājadevī and Garhīmāī. Likewise a God named Bhuiyān was worshipped by the castes named *Musahara* and *Bīna*, These deities were folk-deities. Any images of these deities were not found. They were worshipped in the form of the *Pīrī* made by a handful of holy soil. Among the *Dusādha* caste, a folk-god Salahesa and god Rāhudeva, one among the nine *Grahas* were worshipped with great reverence. Other folk-deities were Luka (Lokeśvarī, the deity of public) and Bagheśvarī (the deity of tigers). These are worshipped even now. Besides, a common practice of worshipping of Pañcadevatā was prevalent. For this purpose, five deities worshipped among them are the gods Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Śiva and goddess Durgā. The holy plant named Tulasī was planted in the courtyard with great reverence. Apart from these all, the people of eastern area of the kingdom, the *Kirātas* had their own type of religion. The founder of Vijaypur, king Vijayanārāyaṇa had a serious conflict with those chiefs and the king put one to death, under pretence, that he an impure beef-eating monster.[47] So, in the area of *Kirātas*, it is known that, beef-eating was in practice. It is argued that the relations between the *Kirātas* (the *Devānas*) and the Senas (the kings) were not cordial, because the former were beef-eaters and the latter were orthodox Hindus.

Language and Literature: For the knowledge about the language and literature, the main sources are the inscriptions and some songs written by the contemporary poets which are preserved in the National Archive in Kathmandu, Nepal. By the study of inscriptions, it is known that the existence of the languages Bhojapuri, Hindi, Maithili, Rajvanshi, Sanskrit and Tharu were prevalent in the period of the Sena dynasty in the kingdom of Makwanpur. The Bhojapuri language was spoken in the areas west from the river Bagmati. Hindi was the language of Bihar (India) area and more or less, was spoken throughout the territory of the Senas especially in the southern parts. Maithili language was spoken throughout the kingdom and was the state-language. All the official works were performed in this language. This was called *Rājabhāṣā*.[48] Sanskrit language was not spoken by general people, but was used by *Paṇḍitas* in literary writings and in some inscriptions. On the other hand, Rajavanshi language is a mixed language which is influenced by Bengali, Maithili and Assamese languages.[49] Rajavanshi and Tharu languages were spoken in the middle and eastern parts of the kingdom.

Some literary works are found in Maithili language. Maithili adopted as the state-language since the beginning of the kingdom of Makawanpur. It is said that since Lohaṅgasena entered into the areas of *Kirātas*, the Maithili was adopted as official language.[50] The kings of Makwanpur

47. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p. 133
48. Jha, (1982), p. 13
49. Upadhyaya, (2048 VS). p. GA
50. Regmi, (1975), p. 70

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themselves wrote poems in Maithili. A manuscript named *Nānārāgagītam* is preserved at the National achive in Kathmandu, Nepal. Its code number is 1/391 and it is a collection of songs. The name of its collector is not mentioned. The script of this manuscript is Nevāri and the language of the songs is Maithili and Vairagi. The name of the poets of *Nānārāgagītam* are Gokulabhaṭṭa, Caṇḍīdāsa, Cakrapāṇi, Dāmodara, Dinamaṇi, Dujānābha, Dhanapati, Nṛpatribhuvana, Nṛpatisingha, Nṛpavaidyanātha, Nṛpaśivasingha, Valinātha, Vidyāpati, Venikara, Bhavānī, Rājāsaṅgrāmaśāha, Rāmadāsa, Rāmadeva, Rāyarāghava, Rāyaharihara, Rūpanārāyaṇa, Sunamaṇi, Sūradāsa, Haridāsa etc.[51] Among these names, there are so many names with Nṛpa and Rāya terms. These terms denote the King. Among these, Rāyarāghava and Rāyaharihara are considered as the kings Rāghavasena and Hariharasena respectively.Another manuscript named *Gītagopāla* is also preserved at National Archive, Kathmandu, Nepal. This is an epic written in Sanskrit by the poet Caturbhuja. The time of the writing of this epic is given in colophon as *Samāptaścayam La Saṅ* 499 *Jyeṣṭha Kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṇ Simarāmagrāme* ..... , which means in the year 1618 AD. This epic is written on the method of *Gītagovindam* of Jayadeva. Poet Jayadeva was in the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena in Bengal.[52] The epic *Gītagopāla,* has comprised with 700 *Ślokas* divided in 13 *Sargas.* Likewise, poet Caturbhuja wrote *Śuddhinirṇaya* also in 1630 AD[53]. The poems written by the kings Rāghavasena and Hariharasena are published. Besides, a poet named Devanātha is also mentioned to be in the court of Makawanpur. His poems are also researched and published.[54] The most celebrated poet and dramatist of Maithili, Umapati Upadhyaya was in the court of king Hariharasena of Makawanpur, He wrote the famous drama named *Pārijātaharaṇa.* Umapati was a kinsman of the poet Caturbhuja,[55] and considered as the inhabitant of the village Koilakha.[56] In this drama, the dialogues are in Sanskrit and the songs are in Maithili language. The songs are indicated with *Rāgas.* The drama *Pārijātaharaṇa* was written in the tradition of *Kirtaniyān Nāṭya Paramparā,* a special dramatic tradition prevelant in those days. The purpose of this kind of drama was to entertain the general people.[57]

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51. Jha and Jha, (1977), p.18
52. Pathak, *op.cit.,* p.314
53. Jha and Jha, *op.cit.,* pp.75-76
54. Jha, (1980), pp.35-38
55. Jha and Jha, *op.cit.,* p.78
56. Jha,(1977), p.125
57. Jha,(2038-2040 VS).

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सौंदर्यलहरी

(शंकराचार्यविरचिता)

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KAVIKARṆAPŪRA AND HIS PECULIAR INTERPRETATIONS

Kumuda Prasad Acharya*

1. Introduction:

The study of prosody is an integral part of Sanskrit literature. The science of metres is needed to systematize the verses which can be composed in a sequence without deviating the rule. The Vedas are composed in various *chandas*, hence Vedas are called *chandas*. Pāṇini has used the term *chandas* in the meaning of Veda, several times in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The same tradition is also followed by the classical composers, though the Vedic metres are not followed in Classical literature. A new genre of metres has been used to compose the kāvyas and mahākāvyas in classical period. Most of the kāvyas in classical period are composed in verse form. Hence Bharata, the author of *Nāṭyaśāstra* goes one step ahead and says that there is no word (i.e. verse) without metre and vice-versa[1].

Vālmīki, the author of *Rāmāyaṇa* is believed as the first user of metre in classical period as Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacarita* ascribes him so[2]. The journey of the history of classical Sanskrit metres starts with Piṅgala, who is also described as the father of Sanskrit *chanda* literature by his composition *Chandaśāstra*. After Piṅgala, about 300 texts on this literature are penned by various authorities. The interpretation of authors varies from text to text, but no one deviates the rules laid by Piṅgala. Many supplements to *Chandaśāstra* have come up in later Pingalan era, which also occupy a pivotal place in Sanskrit prosody. Kavikarṇapūra is one among them, who not only interprets two new *gaṇas* (supplementing the existing eight), but also exhibits his scholarship through his *Vṛttamālā*.

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1. छन्दोहीनो न शब्दोऽस्ति न च्छन्दश्शब्दवर्जितः । Shukla Babulal (ed.), *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni*, Part-II, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi, 2009, p. 213 (ch. 15/42).
2. आम्नायदन्यो नूतनच्छन्दसामवतारः । Kale M.R ., *The Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2010, p. 51 (2nd Act.)

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2. Kavikarṇapūra & his Time:

Kavikarṇapūra, an exponent on Sanskrit metrics belongs to Kāmarūpa (modern Assam). He was a celebrated poet as well as a learned scholar in the court of Malladeva, the then king of Assam. King Malladeva ruled over the country Kāmarūpa in 16th century, which can be considered as the time of Kavikarṇapūra. The views of Dipak Kumar Sharma is vital in this context. He relates Karṇapūra as a contemporary of Puruṣottama Vidyāsāgara (author of *Prayogaratnamālā*, who was also patronized by king Malladeva. The date of composition of *Prayogaratnamālā* is 1568 C.E. and King Malladeva ruled the state of Cooch Behar (which is a part of the vast territory of Kāmarūpa) between 1540-87 C.E.[3] Kavikarṇapūra mentions about his authorship, his patron Malladeva at the end of the work.

कविना कर्णपूरेण गुरुसम्मतकर्मणा ।
मल्लदेवे महीपाले वृत्तमालेयमरचि ।।[4]

As a follower of Vaiṣṇava philosophy (probably Caitanya vaisnavism), he praises Rādhā and Mādhava in the invocatory verse of his work.[5]

3. The *Vṛttamālā:*

The text *Vṛttamālā*, a running text without specification of chapters deals with popular Sanskrit metres (both *varṇa* and *jāti* types) and exhibits the panorama of Sanskrit metrics. The author also justifies his purpose of composing this text as he says: 'though there are many treaties on prosody are available, this work of mine (Kavikarṇapūra's) should not be considered as useless like Lord Śiva holds the crescent moon on his head all the time, even when full moon is present'[6].

The application of two new *gaṇas* with one syllable i.e. *va* and *ka* show the peculiar aspect of the work. Kavikarṇapūra quotes from many works while giving examples for various metres. He discusses the main points of prosody viz. types of Sanskrit metrics, their divisions, the *guru* and *laghu*, the number of *gaṇas yati*, characteristics and examples of various metres

3. Sharma Dipak Kumar, *Vṛttamālā of Kavikarṇapūra*, New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1999, Intro. pp. v-vi.

4. *Ibid.* p. 66 (v. 92).

5. अशेषजनतानन्दकन्दलोल्लासभूमयः ।
भवन्तु भवतां भूत्यै राधामाधवकेलयः ।। *Ibid.* p. I (v. I)

6. प्रणम्य गुरुमीशानं काव्यादावुपयोगिनी ।
बालबुद्धिप्रबोधाय वृत्तमालां वितन्यते ।।
बहुले प्राचिनिबन्धे सत्यपि विफलीभवेल्लघुर्नेयम् ।
सत्यपि पूर्णे चन्द्रे लेखा गिरीशग्रहं याति ।। *Ibid.* pp. 2-3 (vv 2-3).

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etc. in this work. First he gives the characteristics of the metres and then gives its example for easy understanding. Sometimes he gives examples of his own and sometimes he borrows from others. He mentions the source of the quoted verses if it is borrowed. In this work the author deals with 46 types of *samavṛttas*, 7 types of *ardhasamavṛttas*, 3 types of *viṣamavṛttas*, 1 type of *daṇḍaka* (though he defines 8 varieties of *Daṇḍakas)* and 4 types of *jāti* metres. The characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of the meters are given first, which is followed by the examples.[7]

4. His Peculiar Interpretations:

Interpretation of a text shows the poetic excellence of an author. Kavikarṇapūra is also credited with many interpretations in his *Vṛttamālā*. Some of them are enlisted below.

4.1. Metre comes out of the combination of two different metres:

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7. For example: *Sragdharā:* म्रौ त्रा नौ त्राथ रौ त्रा प्रतिमुनिविरतिः स्रग्धराश्रव्यवृत्तम् । *Ibid.* p. 48 (v. 60).

Here the author indicates the characteristics of the metre *Sragdharā* for which he says the metre which has *ma* (SSS), *ra* (SIS), *va* (S), *na* (III), *na* (III), *va* (S), *ra* (SIS), *ra* (SIS) and *va* (S) exist in each *pāda* of the metre and the *yati* exists after every seventh (*muni*) syllable.

He also justifies the nature of the metre by giving example, which is taken from *Mālatīmādhava* (1/1). To quote:

सानन्दं नन्दिहस्ताहतमुरजरवाहूतकौमारबर्हि-
त्रासान्त्रासाग्ररन्ध्रं विशति फणिपतौ भोगसङ्कोचभाजि ।
गण्डोड्डीनालिमालामुखरितककुभस्ताण्डवे शूलपाणे-
र्वैनायक्यश्चिरं वो वदनविधुतयः पान्तु चीत्कारवत्यः ।। *Ibid.* p. 48 (v. 60 (example).

There are 21 letters in each *pāda* of this verse and each *pāda* is having the characteristics given above. For example the first *pāda* has the *gaṇas ma* (*sānandaṁ*), *ra* (*nandiha*) *va* (*stā*), *na* (*hatamu*), *na* (*rajara*), *va* (*vā*), *ra* (*hūtakau*), *ra* (*māraba*), *va* (*rhi*). He implies *va gaṇa* here in this metre. According to the characteristics there is a *yati* after every seven letters of this metre, so the seventh letters which are also long syllables are called as *va gaṇa* by the author. Hence here, three *va gaṇas* are found (*stā, vā* and *rhi*). All of them have long syllables. So the desire of the author is fulfilled by applying the *gaṇa va*, probably to justify the *yati* after 7th letter he adds a new *gaṇa* (3+3+ 1). So it is an example of *Sragdharā* metre. But other prosodists, who are not using this *va gaṇa* says the characteristics in different way. For example Gaṅgādāsa defines the characteristics as: म्रभ्नैर्याना त्रयेण त्रिमुनियतियुता स्रग्धरा कीर्तितेयम् ।

Tripathi Brahmananda (ed.), *Chandomañjarī of Gaṅgādāsa*, Chaukhamba Surabharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 2004, p. 108(v. 2/21/1).

He says in the metre where *ma* (SSS), *ra* (SIS), *bha* (SII), *na* (III), ya (ISS), *ya* (ISS), *ya* (ISS) *gaṇas* exist in each of its *pādas*, that metre is called as *Sragdharā*. However the position of *yati* remains same.

Let's justify this verse according to Gaṅgādāsa's view. In the above verse the *gaṇas ma* (*sānandaṁ*), *ra* (*nandiha*), *bha* (*stāhata*), *na* (*muraja*), *ya* (*ravāhū*), *ya*(*takaumā*), *ya* (*rabarhi*). Hence the views of Gaṅgādāsa are also justified.

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4.1.1. ***Upajāti:*** It is a known fact that the *Upajāti* metre is formed out of the combination of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā* metres. But the author presents 14 varieties of *Upajāti* metres here. The metres are: *Maṇiprabhā, Kāntimatī, Satī, Gati, Smṛti, Kuśāgrī, Rati, Unnatā, Śivā, Varā, Dharā, Prītimatī, Sudhā* and *Priyā*.[8] Kavikarṇapūra also identifies another variety of *Upajāti,* which comes out through the combination of *Svāgatā* (*ra-na-bha-ga-ga*) and *Rathoddhatā (ra-na-ra-la-ga),* though it was not considered by the *ācāryas* like Piṅgala *et.al.*[9]

4.1.2. ***Mahapramāṇikā*:** Another interpretation he makes in this regard is that by doubling the syllables of one *pāda* of *pramāṇikā* metres (*ja-ra-la-ga*), a new one comes out as *mahāpramāṇikā* (*ja-ra-la- ga-ja- ra-la- ga*).[10]

4.1.3. **Introduction of two new *Gaṇas*:** Kavikarṇapūra introduces two new *gaṇas* i.e. *va* and *ka* in his *Vṛttamālā* supplementing the existing eight *gaṇas.*

4.2. **Introduction of *va* and *ka gaṇas:***

Kavikarṇapūra introduces two new *gaṇas* namely *va* and *ka,* besides the existing eight *gaṇas* (*ya-ma-ta-ra-ja-bha-na-sa*), which lay down a milestone in the History of Sanskrit prosody. While the *gaṇa va* stands for long syllable, the *gaṇa ka* stands for short syllable. Not only he implies these two new *gaṇas* in his work but also justifies their applicability.Whenever there is *yati* and that letter (where *yati* occurs) itself is a long (*dīrgha*) syllable, it becomes a

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8. उपेन्द्रवज्रोक्तमथेन्द्रवज्रा प्रोक्तं भवेल्लक्षणमेकपद्ये ।
यदा तदानीं विविधप्रकारैश्चतुर्दशैता उपजातयः स्युः ।।
मणिप्रभा कान्तिमती सती गतिः स्मृतिः कुशाग्री रतिरुन्नता शिवा ।
वरा धरा प्रीतिमती सुधा प्रिया चतुर्दशैता उपजातयः क्रमात् ।। Sharma Dipak Kumar, *op. cit.* p. 15 (v. 22).

9. एतयोरपि च शङ्करभावा-
च्छ्रव्यवृत्तमुपजातिरुच्यते ।
पिङ्गलादिभिरनुक्तमपीदं
दृश्यते क्वचन तेन लिख्यते ।। *Ibid.* p. 23 (v. 30).
He also gives an example of this:
आलि वालिशतया वकुलोऽयं वाटिकानिकट एव रोपितः ।
न श्रुतं न च कृतं वचनं मे तस्य सम्प्रति फलं विजृम्भते ।। *Ibid.* p. 23 (v. 30 example).
Here the first and third *pādas* are composed in *Svāgatā* and two & four are in *Rathoddhatā.*

10. प्रमाणिकाद्वयं यदा तदा महाप्रमाणिका । *Ibid.* p. 38 (v. 49).

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case of the *gaṇa* called *va* and if the syllable concerned is short (*laghu*), then the *gaṇa* is called *ka*.

गुरुवर्णो गसंज्ञः स्यात् लघुवर्णो लसंज्ञकः ।
यतिवन्तौ दीर्घह्रस्वौ वकौ व्याचक्षन्ते बुधाः ।।[11]

Hence it can be said that these two *gaṇas* are entirely based on the occurrence of *yati*. After introducing these two new *gaṇas*, the *lakṣaṇa* for metres dealt in *Vṛttamālā* changes from other texts in connection with *gaṇa* structure. Though the letters in each *pāda* and the *laghu-guru mātrās* will remain same with other treaties, the *lakṣaṇa* defined by Kavikarṇapūra is different from others by the application of *va-gaṇa*. A tabular chart is presented below on the implication of the *va gaṇa* in various metres (18 metres) in *Vṛttamālā* along with a comparative study with *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa.[12]

4.3 Metres with *va gaṇa* of *Vṛttamālā--Chandomañjarī:*

Name of the Metre in *Vṛttamālā/ yati*	*Lakṣaṇa/Gaṇa* Structure/ *Gaṇa* symbol	Letters in each *Pāda*	Name in *Chandomañjarī/ yati*	*Lakṣaṇa/Gaṇa* structure/*Gaṇa* symbol
1. *Vidyunmālā*	*mo vā dviścedvidyunmālā/ ma- va-ma-va/* ऽऽऽ ऽ ऽऽऽ ऽ	8	*Vidyunmālā*	*mo mo go go vidyunmālā ma-ma-ga-ga /* ऽऽऽ ऽऽऽ ऽ ऽ
2. *Tvaritagati*	*tvaritagatiḥ nalavayugam/ na-la-va-na-la-va* ।।। ।ऽ ।।। ।ऽ	10	*Tvaritagati*	*tvaritagatiśca najanagaiḥ na-ja-na-ga/* ।।। ।ऽ। ।।। ऽ
3. *Śālinī/* 4th and 7th letter *(vedalokaiḥ)*	*mo vā rau vā Sālinī vedalokaiḥ/ ma-va-ra-ra-va/* ऽऽऽ ऽ ऽ।ऽ ।ऽऽ ऽ	11	*Śālinī/ (vedalokaiḥ)*	*māttau gau cecchālini vedalokaiḥ/ ma-ta-ta-ga-ga/* ऽऽऽ ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ ऽ
4. *Vātormimālā*	*mo vā srau vā yadi vātormimālā/ ma-va-sa-ra-va /* ऽऽऽ ऽ ।।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ	11	*Vātormī*	*vātormīyaṁ gaditā mabhau tagau gaḥ/ gaḥ/ma-bha-ta-ga-ga/* ऽऽऽ ऽ।। ऽऽ। ऽ ऽ

11. *Ibid.* p. 9 (v. 13).

12. *Ibid.* pp, 10, 13, 20, 24, 29, 32-34, 36-37, 39-41, 43, 45-48, (vv, 15, 19, 26, 31, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60). and Tripathi Brahmananda (ed.), *op. cit.* pp. 25, 32,38, 39, 55, 57, 58, 60, 72,85, 86, 87, 88,98,100,103, 108.

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5. *Jaladharamālā* 4th and 8th letter *(abdhyaṅgaiḥ)*	*mo vā nyagvā jaladharamālābdhyaṅgaiḥ/ ma-va-na-ya-ga-va /* ऽऽऽ ऽ ।।। ।ऽऽ ऽ ऽ	12	*Jaladharamālā/ (abdhayantyaiḥ)*	*mo bhaḥ smau cejjaladhara-mālā'bdhyantyaiḥ/ Ma-bha-sa-ma/* ऽऽऽ ऽ।। ।।ऽ ऽऽऽ
6. *Praharṣiṇī/* 3rd and 10th letter *(tridaśayatiḥ)*	*mnau jrau vastridaśayatiḥ praharṣiṇīyam/ ma-na-ja-ra-va/* ऽऽऽ ।।। ।ऽ। ऽ।ऽ ऽ	13	*Praharṣiṇī/ (tryāśābhiḥ)*	*tryāśābhirmanajara-gāḥ praharṣiṇīyam / ma-na-ja-ra-ga/ -* ऽऽऽ ।।। ।ऽ। ऽ।ऽ ऽ
7. *Sīmā*	*nanavarayugalairāha sīmābhidhām/ na-na-va-ra-ra/* ।।। ।।। ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।ऽ	13	*Candrikā/ (aśvartubhiḥ)*	*nanatatagurubhiś-candrikāśvara tubhiḥ/ na-na-ta-ta-ga/।।। ।।।* ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ
8. *Mattamayūra* 4th letter *(sindhuyatiḥ)*	*movā bhatyāḥ sindhuyatir mattamayūraḥ/ mā- va-bha-ta-ya* ऽऽऽ ऽ ऽ।। ऽऽ। ।ऽऽ	13	*Mattamayūra / (vedai randhrai)*	*vedairandhrair matau yasagā mattamayūram/ ma-ta-ya-sa-ga/* ऽऽऽ ऽऽ। ।ऽऽ ।।ऽ ऽ
9. *Sambādhā*	*sambādhā syāt mavananamavasambaddhā cet/ ma-va-na-na-ma-va/* ऽऽऽ ऽ ।।। ।।। ऽऽऽ ऽ	14	No name in *Chandomañjarī*	
10. *Mālinī /* (7th and 8th letter) *(manmathāśvaiḥ)*	*nanagavararavāścen mālinī (manmathāśvaiḥ) na-na-ga-va- ra-ra-va/* ।।। ।।। ऽ ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ	15	*Mālinī/ (bhogilokaiḥ)*	*nanamayayayūteyaṁ mālinī bhogilokaiḥ/na-na-ma-ya-ya/* ।।। ।।। ऽऽऽ ।ऽऽ ।ऽऽ
11. *Pṛthvī/* 8th and 9th *(vasusthitiḥ)*	*vasusthitijasadvayaṁ yalavayogipṛthvī matā/ ja-sa-ja-sa-ya-la-va* ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽऽ । ऽ	17	*Pṛthvī / (vasugraha)*	*jasau jasayalā vasugrahayatiśca pṛthvī guruḥ/ja-sa-ja-sa-ya-la-ga /* / ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽऽ । ऽ
12. *Mandākrāntā/* 4th, 6th and 7th letters *(vedarttulokaiḥ)*	*mandākrāntā mabhanatatagā vena vedarttulokaiḥ/ma-bha na-ta-ta-ga-va/* ऽऽऽ ऽ।। ।।। ऽऽ। ऽऽऽ ऽ ऽ	17	*Mandākrāntā / (ambudhirasa-nagaiḥ)*	*mandākrāntā' - mbudhirasanagairm o bhanau tau gayugmam ma-bha na-ta-ta-ga-ga /* ऽऽऽ ऽ।। ।।। ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ ऽ

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13.	Hariṇī/ 6th, 4th, 7th (*rasaśrutiḥ saptabhiḥ*)	*bhavati hariṇī nasmvā jau gau rasaśrutiḥ saptabhiḥ/na-sa-ma-va-ja-ja-ga* / ।।। ।।ऽ ऽऽऽ ऽ ।ऽ। ।ऽ। ऽ	17	*Hariṇi* / (*ṣaḍvedairhayaiḥ*)	*nasamarasalā gaḥ ṣaḍvedaihayair hariṇi-matā na-sa-ma-ra-sa-la-ga*/ ।।। ।।ऽ ऽऽऽ ऽ।ऽ ।।ऽ । ऽ
14.	*Vaṁśapatra-patita-* 10th and 7th (*diṅmuni*)	*diṅ munivaṁśapatrapatitaṁ bharaṇavananavaiḥ/ bha-ra-na-va-na-na-va* ऽ।। ऽ।ऽ ।।। ऽ ।।। ।।। ऽ	17	*Vaṁśapatrapatita*/ (*diṅmuni*)	*diṅmuni vaṁśapatrapatitaṁ rajanijalalavaṁ/bha-ra-na-bha-na-la-ga* / ऽ।। ऽ।ऽ ।।। ऽ।। ।।। । ऽ
15.	*Śārdūlavikrī-ḍitam*/ 12th and 7th (*arkāsvaiḥ*)	*arkāśvair yadi maḥ sajau sutatavāśārdūlavikrīḍitam/ma-sa-ja-sa-ta-ta-va* / ऽऽऽ ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ	19	*Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*/ (*sūryāśvaiḥ*)	*sūryāśvair yadi maḥ sajau satatagāḥ śārdūlavikrīḍitam*/ *ma-sa-ja-sa-ta-ta-ga* / ऽऽऽ ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ
16.	*Megha-visphurjitā*/ 6th, 6th, and 7th (*rasāsvā-dāśvaiḥ*)	*rasāsvādāśvair yo munasuraravair meghavisphūr jiteyam/ ya-ma-na-sa-ra-ra-va* / ।ऽऽ ऽऽऽ ।।। ।।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ	19	*Meghavisphurjitā*/ (*rasartvaśvaiḥ*)	*rasar tvaśvair ymamsau raraguruyutau meghavisphūrjitā syāt*/ *ya-ma-na-sa-ra-ra-ga*/ ।ऽऽ ऽऽऽ ।।। ।।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ
17.	*Saumya-vadanā*/ 7th, 7th and 6th (*saptāśvāsvā-da*)	*saptāśvāsvādabhinnāmaravanan avatāḥ saḥ saumyavadanā/ma-ra-va-na-na-va-ta-sa* / ऽऽऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ ।।। ।।। ऽ ऽऽ। ।।ऽ	20	*Suvadanā*/ (*saptāśvaṣaḍbhiḥ*)	*jñeyā saptāśvaṣaḍbhir marabhanayayutā bhlau gaḥ suvadanā*/ *ma-ra-bha-na-ya-bha-la-ga* /ऽऽऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।। ।।। ।ऽऽ ऽ।। । ऽ
18.	*Sragdharā*/7th 7th and 7th (*pratimuniv-iratiḥ*)	*mrau vā nau vātha rao vā pratimuniviratiḥ sragdharāśravyavṛttam/ma-ra-va-na-na-va-ra-ra-va*/ऽऽऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ ।।। ।।। ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ	21	*Sragdharā* (*trimuniyatiyutā*)	*mrabhnair yāṇāṁ trayeṇa trimuniyatiyutā sragdharā kīrtiteyam/ ma-ra-bha-na-ya-ya-ya*/ऽऽऽ ऽ।ऽ ऽ।। ।।। ।ऽऽ ।ऽऽ ।ऽऽ

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4.4. Proper use of *va gaṇa:*

Karṇapūra not only interprets the new *gaṇas*, but also applies them properly while defining the characteristics of various metres. Though the proper application of *va gaṇa* in the *lakṣaṇa* of metres are few in numbers, but it stands as a vital point in his work. The following table shows the proper application of the *va gaṇa* in the *lakṣaṇa* metres.

Sl. No.	Name of the Metre/verse no. in *Vṛttamālā*	*lakṣaṇa*/ no. of letters in *each pāda*	Symbol	*Yati*	Remarks
1.	*Śālinī*/26	*mo vā ro vā śālinī vedalokaiḥ* /11	*ma-va-ra-ra-va*/ sss s sIs sIs s	4th and 7th	The *va gaṇa* is used properly in this metre as it stands in the place of *yati.*
2.	*Mālinī*/48	*nanagavararavāścena mālinī manmathāśvaiḥ* /15	*na-na- ga-va-ra-ra-va*/III III s s sIs sIs s	8th and 7th	The *va gaṇa* appears properly in 8th and 7th letters are per *lakṣaṇa.*
3.	*Vaṁśapatrapatita*/ 55	*diṅmunivaṁśapatrapatitaṁ bharaṇavananavaiḥ*/17	*bha-ra-na-va-na-na-va*/ sII sIs III s III III s	10th and 7th	The *va gaṇa* is used properly 10th and 7th letters are per *lakṣaṇa.*
4.	*Sragdharā*/48	*mrau vā nau vātha rau vā pratimuniviratiḥ sragdharāśravyavṛttam*/21	*ma-ra-va-na-na-va-ra-ra-va* / sss sIs s III III s sIs sIs s	7th, 7th, and 7th	The *vagaṇa* is employed properly In every 7th letter and where the yati falls imply

5. The Crux of the Problem:

5.1. Though Kavikarṇapūra introduces these two new *gaṇas*, in his work itself these *gaṇas* do not find more elaboration.

5.2. The *gaṇa ka* is not being used in any of the metres exhibited in *Vṛttamālā*. These two new *gaṇas* are applicable where a chance of *yati* occurs.

5.3. Many of the metres exhibited in *Vṛttamālā* do not have *yati* rule. Kavikarṇapūra gives the *yati* rule for some specific metres only.

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5.4. In many metres he puts the *va gaṇa* at the last letter of a *pāda* and to justify it he defines the rule of *yati* as it may be possible at the end of the *pāda*.[13]

5.5. According the rule of *va gaṇa*, where the *yati* occurs and if the letter is *guru* then it should be called as *va- gaṇa*. But many deviations are found in the *Vṛttamālā* in this context. He skips *va gaṇas* many times while giving *lakṣaṇa* of a particular metres, even in the case of *yati*. The following table exhibits such problems occurred in *Vṛttamālā*.[14]

Sl. No.	Name of the Metre/verse no. in vṛttamālā	Lakṣaṇa/no. of letters in each pāda	Symbol	Yati	Remarks
1.	*Uddhatagati*/ 41	*rasasthitijasudvayod-dhvatagatiḥ*/ 12	*ja-sa-ja-sa*/ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ	6th letters	No mention of *va gaṇa* though the *yati* occurs in every 6th letter
2.	*Praharṣiṇī*/ 42	*mnau jrau vastridaśayatiḥ praharṣiṇīyam*/13	*ma-na-ja -ra-va*/ ऽऽऽ ।।। ।ऽ। ऽ।ऽ ऽ	3rd and 10th letters	The *va gaṇa* is given at 10th only, but no mention of *va gaṇa* at 3rd letter
3.	*Rucipradā*/ 43	*śrutigrahaiḥ jaranajaga rucipradā*/ 13	*ja-ra-na-ja-ga*/ ।ऽ। ऽ।। ।।। ।ऽ। ऽ	4th and 9th letters	As per the *lakṣaṇa* the *va gaṇa* should stand at each 4th and 9th letters. But here no mention of *va gaṇa*.

13. इष्टस्थानविरामो यतिरित्यभिधीयते प्राज्ञैः ।
यतिमान् मादिरुकारे यतिरथ सर्वत्र पादान्ते ।।
Sharma Dipak Kumar, *op.cit.*, p. 8 (v. 12).

14. *Ibid.* pp. 31-34, 38-41. 45-46.

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4.	*Mattamayūra*/45	*movā bhatyāḥ sindhuyatir-mattamayūraḥ*/13	*ma-va-bha-ta-ya/* ऽऽऽ ऽ ऽ।। ऽऽ। ।ऽऽ	4th letter	The *va gaṇa* occurs only in 4th letter, where *yati* also occurs, but there is no mention of the rest letters and yati. However *Chandomañjarī* defines the *yati* should occur at 4th and 9th letters of this particular meter.
5.	*Śikhariṇī*/ 50	*raseśānasthānā yamanasabhalairgaḥ śikhariṇī*/17	*ya-ma-na-sa-bha-la- ga/* ।ऽऽ ऽऽऽ ।।। ।।ऽ ऽ।। । ऽ	6th and 11th	As the *yati* occurs in each 6th, and the 11th letters of letters this metre the *va gaṇa* should appear in the *laksaṇa,* but it does not.
6.	*Pṛthvī*/ 51	*vasusthitijasadvayaṁ yalayayogipṛthvī matā*/17	*ja-sa-ja-sa-ya-la-va/* ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ।ऽऽ । ऽ	8th and 9th	Even the *yati* occurs in 8th and 9th letters the *va gaṇa* does not appear at the place of first *yati.*
7.	*Mandākrāntā*/52	*mandākrāntā-mabhanatatagā vena vedarttukojaiḥ*/17	*ma-bha-na-ta-ta- ga- va/* ऽऽऽ ऽ।। ।।। ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ ऽ	4th, 6th and 7th letters	The *va gaṇa* is not mentioned in the 4th and 6th letters
8.	*Hariṇī*/53	*bhavati hariṇī nasmvā jau go rasaśrutiḥ saptabhiḥ*/17	*na-sa-ma-va-ja-ja--ga/*।।। ।।ऽ ऽऽऽ ऽ ।ऽ। ।ऽ। ऽ	6th, 4th and 7th letters	The *va gaṇa* is given at the 10th letter here. It deviates the rule given by the author himself. As per rule the *yati* should be at 6th-4th-7th letters. But he gives *va gaṇa* at 10th place by combining the 6th and 4th *yati* places together. It is not a general practice by the authors.
9.	*Sārdūla-vikrīḍita*/ 57	*arkāśvairyadi maḥ sajau sutatavāḥ Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* /19	*ma-sa-ja-sa-ta-ta-va /*ऽऽऽ ।।ऽ ।ऽ। ।।ऽ ऽऽ। ऽऽ। ऽ	12th and 7th letters	The *va gaṇa* comes only at the end of the *pāda* i.e. the case of second *yati* (7th), but there is no mention of the *va gaṇa* which should come at first *yati.*

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10.	*Meghavi-sphūrjitā/* 58	*rasāsvādāśvaiyo munasuraravair-meghavisphūrjiteyam/* 19	*ya-ma-na-sa- ra-ra-va-* ISS SSS III IIS SIS SIS S	6th, 6th and 7th letters	Here also the *va gaṇa* stands at the end of the *pāda* (the case of third *yati)*, but no mention of the *va gaṇa* which should come at first two places of *yati.*

6. Conclusion:

The *chanda* is essential for composing Sanskrit literature and without the proper application of *chanda* a text is not that charming as it could be with application of *chandas.* Kavikarṇapūra experiments his poetic excellence by introducing these two new *gaṇas* i.e. *va* and *ka* to some extent. This interpretation is created by Kavikarṇapūra, but the tradition was not followed by other authorities in later period. It is understood from the interpretations of Kavikarṇapūra that he has added a new flavour to the study of metres, without deviating from the rules laid by his predecessors. It is also known from the study that though the *gaṇa* structure of several metres have been changed due to the application of *va gaṇa,* but there is no change in the *gaṇa* symbol and the letters of the metres. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Kavikarṇapūra adds the old wine in a new bottle. A humble attempt is made to highlight the byways and highways of *Vṛttamālā* of Kavikarṇapūra to cherish the scholars interested in this field.

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THE *MAṄGALAVĀDA* OF HARIRĀMA TARKAVĀGĪŚA: A *NAVYA-NYĀYA* MANUAL

Sweta Prajapati*

Introduction

Gaṅgeśa, the founder of the *Navya-Nyāya* Philosophy, has brought a revolutionary change in the content and style of *Nyāya* system. His *Tattvacintāmaṇi* introduced a new era in the development of Indian theory of knowledge and logic. "Gaṅgeśa in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* deals apparently with those topics which have occasioned controversy, whether within or without the system."[1] These debatable topics *(vādas)* later on created scope for large commentaries and the later *Naiyāyikas* wrote on some of these topics like *Prāgbhāvavāda, Anumānavāda, Muktivāda* etc. Gaṅgeśa has written *Maṅgalavāda* for the first time.[1a] Later on Harirāma has also written separate text on the same topic. It is observed that many teachers and students write on such controversial topics mainly for the better understanding of students. All these texts are very important for their analysis of subtle points and particular focus on the topic. *Maṅgalavāda* of Harirāma is such a text of this genre. Here an attempt has been made to edit this text for the first time.

About Manuscript

I could collect following three manuscripts of *Maṅgalavāda :* 1. B-Baroda Manuscript 2. - C - Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat Manuscript(ACC. No. 1080, folios 5) 3. K - Kobatirth, Koba Manuscript (ACC No. 56462, folios 9).

B: The xerox copy of the manuscript of *Maṅgalavāda* of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa was acquired by the Oriental Institute from Jivaji Kendriya Pustakalaya, Gwalior. From the stamp on the manuscript we come to know that it was originally in the private collection of Dr. Hariharanivas Dwivedi. It has six folios and 151 *granthasaṁkhyā.* On each folio of the masnuscript, there are some marginal additions and omissions of letters are observed at very few places. The manuscript is illegible in few places. In the colophon, the following date of copying the manuscript is found.

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1. Karl Potter, *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies,* Motilal Benarasidass, Delhi, 1993, p. 8

1a. *Maṅgalavāda by Gangesha Upadhyaya,* Ed: Sastri Gaurinath, The Asiatic Society, Kolkatta, 1979

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संवत् १८३६ प्रथमश्रावणशुक्लद्वितीया(यां) गुरुवासरे लिखितम् ।

According to *Indian Ephemeris* we can decode the date as 12th August 1779 A.D.[2]

The Author:

Ācārya Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa (about 1625 A.D.)[3], the author of the present work is also known as *Tarkālaṅkāra, Tarkālaṅkāra-vāgīśa* and *Nyāyālaṅkāra- tarkavāgīśa*. All these significant epithets evince his scholarship of Nyāya and great reputation. He was the teacher of Raghudeva Bhaṭṭācārya and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya, two strong pillars of Navya-Nyāya edifice. He has written : *Tattva-cintāmaṇī-vicāra, Ratna-kośa- vicāra* and *Sva-prakāśa-rahasya-vicāra.*

Content:

The present text is related to the first part of *Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa* of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. Many commentators have written on *Maṅgalavāda* of Gaṅgeśa. In the *Maṇikaṇa* also, we find a brief explanation about *Maṅgalavāda.* Rucidatta's *Prakāśa* commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* also includes this topic in his presentation. There is a *stotra* entitled *Maṇgalavāda* of an unknown author and also a Jain work by Yaśovijaya.[4] The *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* of Śaśadhara (1125 A.D.) incorporates *Maṅgalavāda.*[5] From Harirāma's references in the text with the words *kecit, atrāhuḥ* etc. it is not known to whom does he refer. V. Varadachari has discussed about this concept in detail.[6]

Benediction *(Maṅgala)* is an important ritual in India. Almost every scholar or author starts composing his work with benediction to overcome hurdles and destroy obstacles in the completion of the commenced work. There are various views of *ācāryas* regarding benediction. In the present *Maṅgalavāda,* Harirāma has quoted views of many *ācāryas,* sometimes without name and sometimes mentioning the names like Śaśadhara, Rucidatta Miśra, Vācaspati Miśra etc. According to Annambhaṭṭa, *Maṅgala* is an act *(karma)* having the completion of the work as the fruit (*samāptiphalaka*) through the operation of the destruction of obstacles. Śaśadhara in his *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* holds the view that it is an act leading to the completion of the work undertaken and it helps in removal of obstacle as the extra ordinary cause.

2. *Indian Ephimeries*, Vol.VI, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1982, p. 361
3. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, *A History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, p. 479
4 Siniruddha Dash, *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, University of Madras, 2007, Vol. 28, NCC, pp.20-21
5 *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* of Śaśadhara, Ed: Bimal Krishna matilal, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. 1979, p. 11
6. V. Varadachari, "A Note on the Maṅgalavāda of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika School," *The Adyar Library Bulletin.* Chennai, Vol. XXVI, Parts 1-2, 1962, pp. 28-35

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Harirāma refers to this view in the present text. Harirāma has also referred to Rucidatta Miśra (1505 A.D.), the author of commentary *Prakāśa* on *Tattvacintāmaṇi.*

At the beginning of a desired undertaking, the disciplined ones *(śiṣṭas),* wishing the completion of the work, perform *maṅgala. Śiṣṭa* is the accepting authoritativeness of the Vedas *(vedapramāṇyābhyupagantṛtvam)* and "not having any misconceptions about the capacity of the means to produce the result". Śaśadhara says that a *śiṣṭa* is a person who is devoid of demerits *(kṣiṇadoṣapuruṣa*).

With regard to this the *ācāryas* like Udayana says that *maṅgala* is the cause of the completion of undertaking and the destruction of obstacles is the function. Completion in the case of a book etc, is either the last phoneme or its destruction. Here last phoneme means last letter written in the composition is considered as complete. *Maṅgala* is not the cause of completion, for in spite of the *maṅgala* the compositions of the author of the *Kādambarī* and of others are incomplete and even without *maṅgala* books composed by erring heretics have been completed. The famous work *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa which opens with profuse invocation remained unfinished. Where there is *maṅgala,* there is destruction of obstacles. Sometimes, however, *maṅgala* may not be sufficient to annihilate all the obstacles when the latter are too numerous to be destroyed by the *maṅgala* performed.

In the case of an atheist finishing his work successfully without any invocation, we suppose that there were no obstacles in his way, or that he performed the invocation in his previous life. The case of a theist invoking blessings and yet failing to finish his work, is explained on the supposition that he encountered enormous obstacles which his feeble invocation could not remove.

Disciplined persons take to the practice of giving invocations when there is room for doubt regarding obstacles or certainty that there are obstacles and one wishes to avoid them. Even when there is the desire that the work which is undertaken should be completed, the doer's thoughts centre around the destruction of the obstacles. Otherwise there will be a need to accept the position that an invocation is undertaken even by one who is bereft of the knowledge that obstacles may hinder his activity.

There is no need to accept the position that if enough invocations are performed, completion is bound to be achieved, for irrespective of the number or invocations, completion is still found unrealized. Therefore, destruction or the obstacles should not mean completion of the act undertaken.

The present text deals with the problem of *maṅgala* and tries to give satisfactory answers. The author tries to analyse many subtle issues related to *maṅgala* and discusses views of his predecessors also.

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Text :

हरिरामतर्कवागीशविरचितो मङ्गलवादः

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ननु मङ्गलं न समाप्तिसाधनं मङ्गले सत्त्वेऽपि कादम्बर्यादिग्रन्थासमाप्तेः । मङ्गलं विनापि प्रमत्तानुष्ठितसमाप्तेरन्वयव्यतिरेकश्च व्यभिचारात् । नापि विघ्नध्वंससाधनम्[१] । मङ्गलं विनापि[२] विनायकस्तवपाठादिना जायमानत्वेन व्यभिचारात् । तस्मान्मङ्गलं निष्फलमेवेति चेदत्राहुः - ''मङ्गलं सफलम् अविगीतशिष्टाचारविषयत्वादित्यनुमानेन मङ्गलस्य[३] सफलत्वसिद्धिः । सफलत्वं चात्र बलवदनिष्ठाननुबन्धीष्टफलकत्वम् ।'' अविगीतत्वं च बलवदनिष्ठाननुबन्धित्वम् । तच्च स्वजन्येष्टापेक्षयाधिकानिष्टजनकं यत्तद्भिन्नत्वम् । न तु वेदनिषिद्धत्वमविगीतत्वम् । दूरस्थसरोवगाहने देवान्मरणफलकाश्वमेधीयतुरगरक्षणे च व्यभिचारात् । शिष्टत्वं चेष्टसाधनत्वांशेऽभ्रान्तत्वम्। न तु सर्वांशे । तथा सत्यविगीतपदवैय्यर्थ्यापत्तेः । आचारविषयत्वं तु साध्यत्वेन फलान्यत्वेन वा कृतिविषयत्वं न तु क्रियाविषयत्वम् । क्रियायाः [४]स्वविषयत्वाभावात् । तथा च हेताराविगीतपदवैय्यर्थ्यापत्तिवारणाय सफलत्वं तादृशं विवक्षितम् । परदारगमनादौ व्यभिचारवारणाय अविगीतपदम् । निष्फले कर्मणि जलताडनादौ व्यभिचारवारणाय शिष्टपदम् । तावन्मात्रं फलेऽपि गतम् । अतः साध्यत्वेन फलान्यत्वेन वा कृतिविषयत्वं विवक्षितमिति मिश्राः । रुचिदत्तमिश्रादयस्तु यथाश्रुतमेव 'साध्यमविगीताचारविषयत्वात् शिष्टाचारविषयत्वाद्वेति हेतुद्वयम् । अविगीतत्वं धर्मशास्त्रानिषिद्धत्वम् । न च द्वितीयेऽ गम्यागमनादौ व्यभिचारात् । तत्रापि फलसत्वात् । यदि च तस्य वारणीयत्वमावश्यकं तदा प्रवर्तकज्ञानांशेऽभ्रान्तत्वं[५] विवक्षणीयम् । न च प्रथमे हेतौ निष्फले कर्मण्यनैकान्तिकत्वमिति वाच्यम् । तस्यापि वृथा कर्म न कुर्वीतेत्यादिना निषेधादित्याहुः । अत्र वदन्ति - ''ग्रन्थादौ मङ्गलनिबन्धस्तु शिष्यप्रवृत्तिनिबन्धनम् ।'' शिष्यप्रवृत्तिस्तु बलवदनिष्ठाननुबन्धीष्टसाधनताज्ञानादिति विशिष्टसाध्यपक्ष एव श्रेयानीति टीकाकृतः । वस्तुतस्तु एवं सति कृतिसाध्यताज्ञानस्यापि प्रवर्तकत्वेन तस्याप्यनुमितिविषयत्वापत्तिः । तस्य मानसीयत्वसंभवे त्वलं विशिष्टसाध्यकरणेनेति निर्युक्तिकमुत्पश्यामः । एवं चोक्तानुमानेन सफलत्वे सिद्धे मङ्गलं न समाप्तीतरफलकं तत्कामनां विनापि क्रियमाणत्वादित्यनुमानेन समाप्तीतरफलकत्वासिद्धौ मङ्गलं समाप्तिफलकम् । समाप्तीतरफलकत्वे सति सफलत्वादिति परिशेषानुमानेन न समाप्तिफलकत्वसिद्धिः । न च नास्तिकादिग्रन्थे मङ्गलाभाववति समाप्तिसत्त्वेन परिशेषानुमानासिद्धिरिति वाच्यम् । तत्रापि जन्मान्तरीयमङ्गलकल्पनात् । न च तस्य संदिग्धत्वेन व्यभिचारज्ञानकाले कथमनुमानावतार इति वाच्यम् । व्यभिचारज्ञानस्य साध्यसंशयपर्यवसन्नतयाऽनुमितौ तस्याविरोधित्वात् । व्यभिचारनिश्चयस्य तत्रासत्त्वात् । कादम्बर्यादिग्रन्थे मङ्गलस्यासांगकल्पनेन बलवत्तरप्रतिबन्धकस्य वा सत्त्वेन समाप्त्यभाव इति न तत्रापि व्यभिचारः । मङ्गलस्यान्यतरविनाशितया समाप्तिफलत्वासम्भवेन विघ्नध्वंसद्वारा समाप्तिफलकत्वं बोध्यम् ।

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१. MS C, B do not read साधनम् । २. MS C, K add तस्य ३. MS B drops ४. MS K reads स for स्व ५. MS K drops साध्यम् ६. MS B adds शिष्टत्वं

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केचित्तु मङ्गलं वेदबोधितकर्त्तव्यताकमलौकिकाविगीतशिष्टाचारविषयत्वात् दर्शावदिति प्रयोगः । एवं च वेदबोधितकर्तव्यताकत्वे सिद्धे तेनैव तस्य सफलत्वलाभः । अलौकिकपदं भोजनादौ व्यभिचारवारणाय रात्रिश्राद्धादौ व्यभिचारवारणायाविगीतेति चैत्यवन्दनादौ व्यभिचारवारणाय शिष्टपदमित्याहुः । तदसत् । सायमित्यादिना भोजनाद्याचारस्यापि वेदबोधितत्वेन तद्वारकालौकिकपदवैयर्थ्यात् । चैत्यवन्दनस्यापि कष्टं कर्मेति न्यायाद्बलवदनिष्टानुबन्धित्वरूपाविगीतत्वाभावेन तद्वारकशिष्टपदस्यापि वैय्यर्थ्याच्च । अत एव भोजनस्यापि रागतः प्राप्तत्वेन कालांश एवायं नियमविधिरीत्या श्रीपते तथापि न क्षतिः । न च धर्मशास्त्रानिषिद्धत्वमेवावगीतत्वम् । तच्च निष्फलेऽप्यस्तीति तद्वारणाय शिष्टपदमिति वाच्यम् । तस्यापि न विप्रः क्षणिको भवेदित्यादिना धर्मशास्त्रनिषिद्धत्वात् । न च नोपादेयमेवेति वाच्यम् । [७]तथापि शिष्टहेतुनैव सफलत्वसाधनोपपत्तावलं श्रुतिमनुमानतया फलवत्त्वकल्पनेन । न चैवं तादृशं हेतुना मङ्गलस्य सफलत्वसाधनानुमाने प्रयोजकत्वशंका स्यादतस्तत्कल्पनमिति चेन्मैवम् । श्रुतिसाधकानुमानेन वाप्यप्रयोजकत्वशङ्काया अपरिहार्यत्वात् । किं च श्रुतेः स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रमाणवत्तया-नुमानेप्यप्रामाण्यशङ्काया अभावात् । अन्यथा निष्कंपा प्रवृत्तिः कुत्रापि न स्यात् । सर्वत्र श्रुतिकल्पनापाताच्च ।

यत्तु शशधरेणाव्याप्तिबलेनैव श्रुतिकल्पनमित्युक्तम् । (न्यायसिद्धान्तदीप २) तत्तु व्याप्तावनुकूलतर्काद्यभावादुपेक्ष्यम् । ननु मङ्गलस्य समाप्तिं प्रति हेतुत्वं तदा स्याद्यदि ध्वंसस्य द्वारत्वं स्यात् । तदेव न संभवति । तथाहि द्वारत्वं नाम तज्जन्यत्वे सति तज्जन्यजनकत्वम् । तच्च समाप्तिं प्रति विघ्नध्वंसस्य जनकत्वे गृहीते सुग्रहम् । तदेव न संभवतीत्युक्तम् । चरमवर्णध्वंसरूपायाः समाप्तेराकाशनिष्ठत्वेन विघ्नध्वंसस्य चात्मनिष्ठत्वेन व्यधिकरणत्वात् । न हि व्यधिकरणयोः कार्यकारणभावः संभवतीति चेन्न । स्वप्रतियोगिचरमवर्णानुकूलकृतिमत्वसंबन्धेन समाप्तिं प्रति मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसस्य हेतुत्वे नोक्तानुपपत्यभावादिति केचित् । तत्र तादृशसंबन्धेन समाप्तेर्नास्तिकात्मनिष्ठतया तत्र मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसाभावेन व्यभिचारापत्तिरिति ।

अत्र ब्रूमः वेदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितप्रामाण्यनिष्ठप्रकारताशालिज्ञानसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोग्युत्पत्त्यनुकूलकृतिमत्वसंबन्धेन समाप्तित्वावच्छिन्नं प्रति विशेषणतामङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसः कारणमित्यनेन चोक्तातिप्रसङ्गविरहादिति । यद्वा स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न - प्रतियोगिकत्वस्वाव्यवहितोत्तरक्षणोत्पत्तिकत्वसंबन्धेन मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसविशिष्टसमाप्तित्वावच्छिन्नं प्रत्यवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसः कारणमिति शरीरनिष्ठ एवायं कार्यकारणभावः नास्तिकादिशरीरेषूपदर्शितोभयसंबन्धेन मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसाभावेनैव विशिष्टाभावसत्वादित्याहुः ।

अन्ये तु ज्ञानविशेष एव समाप्तिः । तथा च समवाये न मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसस्य विशिष्टसमाप्तिं प्रति विशेषणताविशेषेण मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंसः कारणमित्याद्यात्मनिष्ठ एव कार्यकारणभावः । विघ्नध्वंसविशिष्टत्वं तु स्वाश्रयसमवेतत्वसंबन्धेनेत्याहुः । न वास्तु मङ्गलजन्यविघ्नध्वंस एव फलम् । न तूपदर्शितरीत्या समाप्तिः गौरवात् । समाप्तिश्च प्रतिबन्धकाभावे सति बुद्ध्यादिकारणादेव । न च विनायकस्तवपाठादिना तस्य जायमानत्वे व्यभिचार इति वाच्यम् । विघ्नध्वंसविशेषे तस्य हेतुत्वात् । ननु यत्र स्वतः सिद्ध विघ्नाभावस्तत्र मङ्गलं व्यर्थम् । न चेष्टापत्तिः । श्रोतात्मांगकर्मणः फलावश्यंभावनियमेन

७. MS K reads तथासत्यवशिष्ट...

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तस्य फलवत्वे सिद्धे विघ्नाभावे न विघ्नध्वंसफलकत्वासंभवात्समाप्तेस्तदर्शनात्तस्या एव फलत्वमिति चेन्न समाप्तेरपि साक्षात्फलत्वासंभवादत्र द्वारस्यासंभवात् । भवन्मतेऽपि व्यर्थताऽपरिहार्यत्वात् । यावज्जीवनमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयादित्यादौ किञ्चिदङ्गविकलस्याहिताग्नेर्विभुक्रमनाधभावेऽपि तद्राहित्यस्यैवाग्निहोत्रस्य फलं जनकत्वेन श्रोतात्सांगादित्यस्याप्रयोजकत्वाच्च । वस्तुतस्तु एतस्य श्रोतत्वाभावत्वे तादृशनियमस्यावकाश एव नास्तीति द्रष्टव्यम् । न च तस्य विघ्नध्वंसफलकत्वाभावे तद्बोधकवेदानां प्रामाण्यमिति वाच्यम् । सति विघ्ने तन्नाशस्य प्रमाणे न फलत्वबोधनादिति । न च द्वारेण द्वारिणो नान्यथासिद्धिरिति यत्रान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां वेदादिनावायस्य कस्य कारणत्वं क्लृप्तमनन्तरं च तस्य कारणत्वान्यथानुपपत्त्या द्वारकल्पनं न तत्रैव द्वारेण द्वारिणो नान्यथासिद्धिरिति न्यायावकाशात् । अत्र तु शिष्टाचारविषयत्वेनैव फलकल्पनम् । शिष्टाचारविषयकत्वं विघ्नध्वंसफलकत्वेनाप्युपपन्नमिति सर्वस्वम् ।

परे तु समाप्तिकामो मङ्गलमाचरेदित्येवंविधानुमितश्रुत्या समाप्तिसाधनत्वेन मङ्गलं विहितं तथैव शिष्टाचारविषयत्वात्[८] समाप्तिसाधनत्वं च साक्षादनुपपन्नमिति यागादिवददृष्टं द्वारत्वेन कल्पने न तु विघ्नध्वंसः । अनन्तविघ्नध्वंसादिकल्पने गौरवापत्तेः । स्वतःसिद्धविघ्नाभावस्थले[९] मङ्गलस्य व्यर्थत्वकल्पनापत्तेरनन्तरोत्पन्नविघ्नैः समाप्तिप्रतिबन्धापत्तेश्च । किञ्च दुरितध्वंसार्थिप्रवृत्तौ दुरितनिश्चयस्य हेतुत्वेन मङ्गले प्रवृत्त्यनापत्तेश्च । दुरितस्यातीन्द्रियत्वेन तन्नियमस्य तत्र कर्तुमशक्यत्वात् । न च प्रतिबंधे सति कार्यानुपपत्तेरवश्यं विघ्नध्वंसस्तत्र वाच्यः । तथा चावश्यकत्वात्तेनैव द्वारत्वोपपत्तौ च दृष्टकल्पनानुपपत्तिरिति वाच्यम् । यागादिस्थले तस्यावश्यकत्वेन तस्यैव द्वारत्वौचित्यात् तत्र फललाभं इत्याभिपाताददृष्टकल्पनमिति चेदत्रापि तुल्यम् । अत एवेदं प्रधानम् । समाप्तिकाम एवाधिकारी । यत्तु मङ्गलं समिधो[१०] यजतीत्यादिवद्विधिविहितमिति आरब्धकर्मांगमिति तत्र अलौकिकस्य लौकिकाङ्गत्वात् । प्रधानविध्यभावे एकवाक्यत्वानुपपत्तौ तस्याङ्गविधित्वानुपपत्तेश्च । तदुक्तम् । स्वार्थबोधे समाप्तानामङ्गादिगत्वाद्यपेक्षया वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहत्यजायते इति । न च यथाकथञ्चित्कृतमङ्गलाददृष्टापत्तौ बलवत्तरविघ्नसत्वेऽपि समाप्तस्यापत्तिरिति वाच्यम् । तत्र तया मङ्गलस्यानुमेयत्वात् । न चैवं समाप्तेर्मङ्गलकार्यत्वे तदनुमानेन च सति व्यभिचाराग्रहे कार्यत्वसिद्धिरित्यन्योन्याश्रय इति वाच्यम् । एवं हि धूमादिना वह्न्यनुमानापत्तिरिति क्वचिद्विशेषोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकसहचाराभ्यां कारणग्रहे यद्विशेषयोरिति न्यायात्सामान्यतः कार्यकारणभावसिद्धिरिति चेत् । अत्रापि न पाणिपिहितेत्याहुः । तदसत् । श्रुत्यनुमाने प्रामाण्याभावस्यावेदितत्वात् । भावे वानुपूर्वीविशेषविशिष्टत्वेन तस्यापि विषयीकर्तुमशक्यत्वात् । शक्यत्वेऽपि वा विघ्नध्वंससाधारणमेव कुतो न स्यात् । तावतेव विशिष्टाचारोपपत्तिसंभवात् । किं च प्रतिबन्धके सति कार्यानुपपत्तेर्विघ्नं विघ्नध्वंसस्य समाप्तिं प्रति चेत्यनेककार्यकारणकल्पनागौरवात् । अतो लाघवाद्विघ्नध्वंसं प्रत्येव मङ्गलस्येव हेतुत्वं स्वतःसिद्धविघ्नाभावस्थले च व्यर्थमेव स्यात् । पापभ्रमेण कृतप्रायश्चित्तवद्दुरितसंशयवतामेवात्राधिकारान्मङ्गले प्रवृत्तिरपि नानुपपन्नेति इदं च विघ्नध्वंससमसंख्यत्वेन हेतुविशेषः कार्यकारणभावो वाऽतो न स्वल्पमङ्गलाद्बहुतरविघ्नध्वंसो वा बलवत्तरविघ्नध्वंसो वेति तच्च मङ्गलं नमस्कारादिभेदादनेकधा । नमस्कारत्वं च न तावद्विघ्नध्वंसजनकत्वं कालावतिव्याप्तेः । नापि विघ्नध्वंसासाधारणत्वम् । विघ्ने व्याप्तेः । नापि विघ्नभिन्नत्वविशेषितं तद् विघ्नध्वंसप्रतिबन्धकाभावेऽतिव्याप्तेः । नापि विघ्नभिन्नत्वे सति विघ्नध्वंसप्रतिबन्धकाभावविघ्नभिन्नत्वं

८. MS K drops विषय ९. MS B drops स्थले १०. MS K drops समिधो

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च सति साधारणत्वं तद् वृष्ट्यादिप्रतिबन्धकविघ्नध्वंससाधारणकारणे कार्यादावतिव्याप्तेः । नापि यथोक्तविशेषणत्वे सति प्रारिप्सितप्रतिबन्धकविघ्नध्वंससाधारणकारणत्वं तत् प्रारिप्सितप्रतिबन्धक-विघ्नध्वंसजनकमन्त्रपाठनादावतिव्याप्तेः । न च तस्यापि मङ्गलत्वमिति वाच्यम् । तथाविधव्यवहाराभावात् । अन्यथा कार्यादेरपि मङ्गलत्वापत्तौ तद्वारकप्रारिप्सितपदवैय्यर्थ्यात् । विघ्नध्वंसप्रागभावेऽतिव्याप्तेश्च । कारणतावच्छेदकधर्मापरिचये कारणत्वग्रहानुपपत्तेः मङ्गलमात्रसाधारण्याच्च । न च मङ्गलमात्रस्येव नमस्कारत्वम् । तथाविधव्यवहाराभावात् । न च कार्यादित्रितयसाधारणजातिविशेषत्वं नमस्कारत्वम् । सांकर्यात् । न च गुणजातौ नाशदोषत्वमिति वाच्यम् । बीजसाम्यादिति चेदुच्यते । ज्ञानविशेषपूर्वकत्वं प्रतिसन्धाय न कायिकादौ नमस्कारत्वव्यपदेश इति नागृहीतविशेषणबुद्धिविशिष्टसंभवतीति न्यायात् । ज्ञानविशेष एव नमस्कारत्वम् । स च विशेषो मानसत्वव्याप्तो जातिभेद एवातो न प्रत्यक्षादिना संकरः कायिकाद्यन्यतमत्वमित्युक्तं **शशधरेण** । (**न्यायसिद्धान्तदीप**, ३) ततुच्छम् । कुटिलबुध्याकृतकरशिरस्संयोगादौ नमस्कारव्यवहाराभावात् । अन्यतमत्वस्य तद्भिन्नभेदपर्यवसानतया प्रत्येकं विनिगमनाविरहाच्च । एवं सर्वोत्कृष्टगुणवत्ताप्रतिपादकशब्दत्वं स्तुतित्वम् । पुण्यजनकशब्दनिबन्धः पुण्यकृत् प्रतिपादकशब्दो वा वस्तुनिर्देशः । एवमन्यदप्यूह्यमिति संप्रदायः । एवं विशेषणता तादात्म्यादिसम्बन्धानवच्छिन्नप्रारिप्सितविघ्नविध्वंसत्वावच्छिन्नकारणत्वं मङ्गलत्वं निर्वाच्यम् । कारणताग्रहस्तु विशेषधर्मेणैवेति न कश्चिद्दोष इति **नवीनाः** । तदेतन्मङ्गलं प्रधानमेवं विघ्नवान् विघ्नज्ञानवान्वात्राधिकारीति । तत्संशये तद्भ्रमेऽपि वा तदाचरणात् । यत्तु आदरे नैमित्तिकादिकस्य[११] विचारितत्वनुपयुक्तत्वादुपेक्षितमस्माभिरिति ।

इति श्रीहरिरामतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचितो मङ्गलवादः समाप्तः ।

शुभमस्तु । श्रीरस्तु । संवत् १८३६ प्रथम श्रावणशुक्लद्वितीया गुरुवासरे लिखितः ।[१२]

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११. MS B adds भ्रान्तं कनकमृगतृशांधितधिया वचो वैदेहीतिदिकत्वमस्य १२. MS K does not have post colophon, MS C reads इति मङ्गलवादः समाप्तः । शके १६५३.... मंङ्गलवादः संपूर्णतामगमत् ।

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HERMENEUTICS: A TOOL FOR INTERPRETING VEDIC RITUAL MENTIONED IN CLASSICAL TEXTS

Madhavi R. Narsalay*

The inherent meaning derived from language underlines nature of action, interpretation and subjectivity. These aspects are a matter of discourse for philosophers, linguists, literary critics and social scientists. Interpretation, which is the topic of concern for hermeneutics, is an object of concern for understanding meaning of scriptural and literary texts. Classical Sanskrit Literature is a reflection of ideals, beliefs and practices prevalent in the then Indian society. It is obvious that texts abound with references pertaining to Vedic sacrificial ritual. The point of concern of this work is that references, if understood by their literary meaning indicate the ignorance of Sanskrit poet- laureates about Vedic sacrificial ritual. In this light, the present work is an exercise to explore a hermeneutic interpretation to certain irregularities regarding the Vedic sacrificial ritual noted in Classical Sanskrit Literature. It will involve historicity and contextuality of the Classical texts in this exercise.

The first section of this work will point out the irregularities regarding the references mentioned in the Classical Sanskrit Literature and second section would elaborate as to how a hermeneutic interpretation serves as a means to justify these irregularities.

Section 1:

- In the first act of *Abhijñānaśākuntala,* Kaṇva i.e. Kāśyapa is clearly stated as an unmarried sage.[1] In the fourth act however, it is inferred that Kaṇva was an *āhitāgni* (one who has established fires). The reasons given are that he asks Śakuntalā to move around the fires.[2] Secondly, he congratulates her with words, though the vision of the sacrificer was impeded by smoke, the offering fell straight into the fire.[3] It is inferred that this metaphorical

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1. भगवान् काश्यपः शाश्वते ब्रह्मणि स्थित इति प्रकाशः । Abhijñāśākuntala Act 1, p. 28
2. अमी वेदिं परितः क्लृप्तधिष्ण्याः समिद्धन्तः प्रान्तसंस्तीर्णदर्भाः ।
अपघ्नन्तो दुरितं हव्यगन्धैर्वैतानास्त्वां वह्नयः पावयन्तु ।।७।। *Ibid.* Act IV. 7
3. दिष्ट्या धूमाकुलितदृष्टेरपि यजमानस्य पावक एवाहुतिः पतिता । *Ibid.* Act IV. p. 102

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remark indicates that he was an *āhitāgni*. Vedic sacrificial rules prescribe sacrificial rituals for a married man. If Kaṇva is clearly stated as a *brahmacārin*, then his participation in the Vedic sacrifice indicates Kālidāsa's ignorance about Vedic sacrificial ritual.

- The second issue, which is mentioned, is that of *Aśvamedha* sacrifices in Classical texts. The *Raghuvaṁśa* notes that Dilīpa performed ninety-nine *Aśvamedha* sacrifices and attempted to perform the hundredth one.[4] At the time of the hundredth sacrifice, Indra carried away the sacred horse. There was a fight between Indra and Raghu, as the later was appointed as the guardian of the sacrificial horse. Some scholars point out that the problem of *Aśvamedha* is its number i.e. hundred and the duration required to perform it. According to the procedural details of this great sacrifice, *Aśvamedha* requires thirteen months for its completion. Hence, if this statement is taken literally, Dilīpa would require approximately one hundred and ten years of life-span to perform the ninety nine sacrifices. It is difficult to accept that anyone could survive for such a long life-span. Therefore, the probable conclusion employing factual data is that Kālīdāsa was not aware of the duration of *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and was therefore ignorant of sacrificial rituals.

Another classical Sanskrit dramatist in this review is Bhavabhūti. He is one among the rare men of letters to give his family background in his works. He states that he has knowledge of grammar, *Mīmāṁsā*, *Nyāya* and hails from the family of *āhitāgnis*. But, it is assumed that he has committed a mistake in the description of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.

- In *Uttararāmacarita*, it is said that Rāma used an effigy of gold of Sītā, in his *Aśvamedha* because he had abandoned her. Rāma was well-known for monogamy and for his love and affection for Sītā. Hence, he refused to remarry and placed an effigy of Sītā at the time of the *Aśvamedha*.[5] In fact, the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice requires the *mahiṣī* or the chief queen to perform certain rituals. Moreover, according to texts like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a king requires four wives (XIII. 4. 1. 8).[6] This technicality was not noted by Bhavabhūti.

- The arrival of Paraśurāma is described by Rāma, as one who gave land to sage Kaśyapa in an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice (*Mahāvīracarita* Act II. v. 19).[7] It is to be noted that the text

4. नियुज्य तं होमतुरङ्गरक्षणे धनुर्धरं राजसुतैरनुद्रुतम् ।
अपूर्णमेकेन शतक्रतूपमः शतं क्रतूनामपविघ्नमाप सः ॥ *Raghuvaṁśa* III. 38

5. नियोजय यथाधर्मं प्रियां त्वं धर्मचारिणीम् ।
हिरण्मय्याः प्रतिकृतेः पुण्यां प्रकृतिमध्वरे ॥ *Uttararāmacarita* VII. 20

6. चतस्रो जाया उपक्लृप्ता भवन्ति । महिषी वावाता परिवृक्ता पालागली ... *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII.4.1.8.)

7. सद्वीपामथ कश्यपाय मुनये दत्त्वाश्वमेधे महीं ।
शस्त्रव्यस्तसमुद्रदत्तविषयं लब्ध्वा तपस्तप्यते ॥ *Mahāvīracarita* II. 19 cd

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refers to a similar mention in the Mbh (*Śān.* P 49. 57). However, an *Aśvamedha* is not performed by a *brāhmaṇa*, but by a *kṣatriya* king. How could Paraśurāma perform such a sacrifice? Therefore, there exist three probabilities a) Bhavabhūti did not have sufficient knowledge of *Aśvamedha*, b) *Aśvamedha* was obsolete during Bhavabhūti's period and c) this is a fictitious ritual. Probability (c) is a different topic and it can be dealt separately in another paper. I will concentrate on prior two probabilities.

Section: II

Indian hermeneutics as a research methodology does assist to interpret these discrepancies. The problem with such type of interpretations is that of its praxis, which assumes the reflexive/ automatic relationship between theory which is signified by sacrificial texts prescriptive in nature and action which is signified by literature in the form of poetry and drama. In the process of conceptualizing meaning, some scholars have thought in a two dimensional framework. Hermeneutics would replace this two-dimensional praxis of (theory and action) adding one more dimension to it. The third dimension is of exegetical or critical interpretation of literature provided by rhetoricians. As discussed by T. Devarajan, Abhinavagupta has provided methods adopted by him as a commentator/critic viz.[8]

1. The main purpose of commenting upon a work is the discovery of valid conclusion- *tattvārthasiddhiḥ.*
2. The aim of the critic is to expose the idea under discussion in brief *(saṅkṣiptavṛttividhiḥ).*
3. Highlight the noteworthy idea under discussion *(upādeyasya sampattiḥ).*
4. Limit the untenable ideas by mentioning only its constituents *(tadanyasya pratīkanam).*
5. Make the idea intelligible and perfect *(sphuṭavyākhyā).*
6. Clarify the objections *(virodhinām pariāhraḥ).*
7. Support the ideas with valid knowledge *(sampūrṇatā).*
8. Stick always to the topic under discussion *(lakṣyānusaraṇam).*
9. Make the unintelligible ideas intelligible with supporting evidences *(kliṣṭavaktavyāṁśavivecanam).*

8. T. Devarajan, "Hermenuetics and Indian Poetics" in *Indian Theories of Hermeneutics*, ed. P. C. Muraleemadhavan, New Bharatiya Book Corporation, Delhi, 2002, pp. 318-331

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10. Justify the suitability of repetitions, if any *(paunaruktyānām saṅgatiḥ)*.

11. Reconcile the views with supporting statements from other sources *(samādhānasamākulam saṅgrahaḥ)*.[9]

Hermeneutics, scriptural or literary, aims at providing tools for giving a coherent meaning of the text. Some of the above mentioned methods would help assist in solving the discrepancies in these examples. By using method no. 7 i.e. support the ideas with valid knowledge, we can attempt to explain the first instance that of Kaṇva, in spite of not being an *āhitāgni* supposedly is shown to behave in that manner. The text is absolutely clear that he is a *brahmacārin*. The penance-grove displays signs of practising the Vedic sacrificial order. The sage, being the *kulapati* is shown to be aware of the rituals and has initiated Śakuntalā, who was prophesised to be a wife of king, who had firm faith in the Vedic ritual institution. In this way the irregularity noted by Kālidāsa is clarified.

We move to the next discrepancy which is of 100 *Aśvamedha*. By using the method of making unintelligible ideas intelligible we can say that there are number of evidences in the epics and the *Mahāpurāṇas* regarding hundreds of *Aśvamedhas* performed by number of kings. Another instance is of Sagara completing ninety-nine sacrifices and then going in for the hundredth sacrifice. This does not mean that the life-span of Sagara and in this case Dilīpa was too long to be acceptable, but it highlights the hyperbolic expressions of the ornate poet and the epic narrator. It indicates the significance of the *Aśvamedha* as the celebrated sacrifice in Sanskrit literary texts. Hence, the number hundred is not to be taken literary but in the figurative sense. These kings probably performed so many *Aśvamedhas* which made Indra feel insecure of his position.

The third instance is that of the effigy of Sītā, being placed in the *Aśvamedha*. We may apply the method no. 11 i.e. reconcile the views with supporting statements from other sources. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* does mention of the golden image of Sītā in the

9 तत्त्वार्थमर्थिजनवाञ्छितसिद्धिहेतोः ।
माहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः
संक्षिप्तवृत्तिविधिना विशदीकरोति ।। 4
उपादेयस्य सम्पाठस्तदन्यस्य प्रतीकनम्
स्फुटव्याख्या विरोधानां परिहारः सुपूर्णता ।। 5
लक्ष्यानुसरणं श्लिष्टवक्तव्यांशविवेचनम् ।
सङ्गतिः पौनरुक्त्यानां समाधानसमाकुलम् ।। 6
सङ्ग्रहश्चेत्ययं व्याख्याप्रकारोऽत्र समाश्रितः *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Nāṭyaśāstra* Chapter I. 4^{cd} -7^{ab}

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Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma and that Rāma refuses to remarry for the sake of the sacrifice. *Raghuvaṁśa* mentions of the golden image of Sītā in the *Aśvamedha* performed by Rāma.

This provision was a via-media of not compromising with the principles of Rāma and at the same time following the rules of the sacrifice. The *Aśvamedha* performed by Daśaratha in *Rāmāyaṇa* had three wives and not four as against the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* placing the requirement of the presence of four wives. Similar evidence is that of Yudhiṣṭhira, who performed the *Aśvamedha* with one wife. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the presence of Draupadī in the performance of the *Aśvamedha*. Thus, post- Vedic non-sacrificial literature serves as indicators pointing the trend of making compromises within the internal structure of Vedic sacrifice on one hand and keeping the external framework intact.

The instance of Paraśurāma performing the *Aśvamedha* in spite of not being a *Kṣatriya* is that: Since Paraśurāma had wiped out the race of *Kṣatriya*-s twenty one times, in this endeavour; he had resorted to *Kṣātra dharma*. Befitting, the *dharma* of a sovereign *Kṣatriya* he performed the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. Historically, there are evidences of kings like the Śuṅgas who were *Brāhmaṇas* by birth and had performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty performing *Vājapeya*. How is it that Pravarasena, the king could perform *Vājapeya?* The explanation is that, the kings of this dynasty were *Brāhmaṇas* by birth, so befitting their birth, they performed the *Vājapeya*.[10] These indicate the mobility of the caste-system and the changed functions according to it. In earlier times functions of the caste were determined by *Karmans*. Later times, functions were determined by birth. Hermeneutics does not permit an interpreter to justify what is wrong stated. It would be too tall to claim that the ornate Sanskrit poets were well-versed in Vedic sacrificial rituals.

For instance: The benediction uttered by the sage Kaṇva, the foster father of Śakuntalā, when she was about to leave her maternal home to meet her husband, has an interesting sacrificial reference *(Ibid.* Act IV v.7.). The reference mentions the seats of the sacrificial fires i.e. *dhiṣṇya*-s, having their places around the altar. It is noteworthy that the sage utters this benediction in the style of Vedic chanting. This indicates that Kālidāsa wanted to authenticate the sanctity of the benediction. However, the mention of these seats surrounding the sacrificial altar is incorrect. *Dhiṣṇyā*-s are small fire-hearths. Eight in number raised for the Soma priests viz; *Hotrīyā, Āgnidhrīyā, Praśāstrīyā* and for the *Brāhmaṇācchamśin, Potṛ, Neṣṭṛ, Acchāvāka* (7 priests) and last for *Marjālīyā*. Of these six are situated with the *Śadas*, four to the north of the *Pṛṣṭhya*, the *Hotrīyā* on the *Pṛṣṭhya* in front of the eastern door of the śadas and the *Praśāstrīya* to the south of the *Pṛṣṭhya*. The *Āgnīdhrīyā* and the *Mārjālīyā* are

10. Madhavi Narsalay, *Epics and Mahāpurāṇas on the Vedic Sacrifice*, Aryan Books International, Delhi, 2015, p. 49

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situated to the north and the south of the *Havirdhāna* respectively. Fire is installed on them and oblation can be offered on the *Āgnīdhrīyā.*[11] This reference indicates that the original ritual seems to have been forgotten since the *dhiṣṇya*-s do not surround the sacrificial altar.

This reference does show Kālidāsa's ignorance of Vedic rituals. However, hermeneutics does encourage interpretation beyond this inference. One needs to account for this discrepancy. This is understood as hermeneutically empathetic interpretation. This discrepancy indicates that the *soma* -sacrifices became more and more obsolete at the time of Kālidāsa.

Another reference which leads to the similar conclusion occurs in the Prelude *(Praveśaka)* of the sixth act *(Ibid.* Act VI. v.1.). A verse in the Prelude states that a duty which is assigned to a person from birth, though condemned by others need not be given up. This premise is further strengthened with an illustration of a learned *Brāhmaṇa,* who becomes cruel while discharging his duty of killing a sacrificial victim is in fact compassionate in nature. The thought reflected in this verse is that of the function of *Śamitṛ,* who 'pacified' animals during the performance of Vedic sacrifices. However, this function was not marked as an action of cruelty. The sacrificial animal was not slaughtered, but smothered and then pacified. The verse indicates the changed trend in the sacrifice, for it highlights bloodshed (which is essentially non-Vedic) and secondly considers animal offered during sacrifice as a mark of cruelty. The blood was the share given to the evil spirits or *asura*-s and was not offered to gods. So, the reference again harps the same tune of sacrifices becoming more and more obsolete at the time of Kālidāsa.

It is true that there are certain discrepancies or irregularities in references regarding the Vedic sacrifice by the ornate poets. Keeping in mind method 2 and 3 mentioned by Abhinavagupta i.e. the aim of the critic is to expose the idea under discussion in brief *(saṅkṣiptavṛttividhiḥ)* and highlight the noteworthy idea under discussion *(upādeyasya pratīkanam);* one needs to keep in mind that the purpose of the writings of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti was to entertain the elite society with their monumental works and not to display the knowledge of the institution of sacrifice. Yet, following a critical approach, it is true that there are some discrepancies in their works in describing the Vedic sacrifice. Hermeneutics along with historicism does not permit blaming these authors for their incompetence in their knowledge of describing the sacrificial institution, on the contrary makes an attempt to analyze as to why this has occurred. The reason being that at the time of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, the Vedic sacrifice had faced decline, in terms of performance. But the reverence for this institution has remained untainted over the years. It is wrong to conclude that the

11. Chitrabhanu Sen, *A Dictionary of Vedic Rituals,* based on the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya Sūtra-s,* Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 1978, p. 38.

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sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* were fictitions. Historically, good number of kings have performed Vedic sacrifices. Thus, epigraphic and numismatic evidences prove that Vedic sacrifices including the *Aśvamedha* were in vogue even during the classical period (though not frequently performed for obvious reasons) even till the medieval period.

Section III:

From Indian hermeneutics, let us take a look at Western hermeneutics and its role in textual interpretation.

This methodology takes into consideration the historicity of the composition of the texts taken up for study, as well as takes into account the hermeneutical process of accepting the Vedic literature as the ultimate authority. In the words of Selvanayagam, 'This is a historical process and a hermeneutical process too in which we may recognize tradition, continual change and even mutation'.[12] Extending the Selvanayagam's opinion regarding the application of hermeneutics to scriptures to classical texts, a need is felt to bring together hermeneutics and historicism. In the Western horizon, this science of interpretation appeared first in the Hellenic period in connection with the study of classical texts and it was later used for biblical interpretations.

Burde analyzes system of hermeneutics, "The interpretations are believed to have two aspects. The objective side deals with the grammatical meanings and their historical variations, while the subjective approach tries to understand the author's intention".[13] According to Schleiermacher (1768-1834), "We should try to understand the specific part of the text not only in the light of the author's entire body of work, but in light of the author's personal life, intellectual life and career".[14] He emphasizes that the spirit that permeates the whole (such as a text) sets its mark on the individual parts. The parts are to be understood on the basis of the whole, and the whole, is to be understood as an internal harmony of the parts.[15] Thus, Western hermeneutics takes note of tradition, evolution and even mutation in textual interpretation, laying due emphasis on the life history and idiosyncrasy of the author. The eleven-point tenets of hermeneutical interpretation by Abhinavagupta touch all these point mentioned by nineteenth and twentieth century thinkers.

The basic problem of understanding and interpreting a text is connected with the reader's distance in time and space from it. This gap between the present researcher and the text to be

12. I. Selvanayagam, *Vedic Sacrifice: Challenge and Response*, Manohar, New Delhi. 1996. Intro. p. 39.
13. J. Burde, *Ritual, Mantras and Science: An integral prespective*, MLBD, New Delhi 2004 p.98.
14. *Ibid.* p. 461.
15. *Ibid.* p.297.

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studied is widened because of the impact of the values and principles of the present times. These values come in way in critically understanding the texts of the yonder years. Hermeneutics not only assists in bridging the historical gap but also the gap caused by laying the present century parameters to the ancient texts for; hermeneutical process does take into account historicity of the textual matter.

Role of historicity or historicism in hermeneutics was put forth by Herder (1744-1803), who assumed that historical phenomena have their own intrinsic worth and must be evaluated on the basis of their own premises. Historicism propounded by Herder is characterized by understanding the historical phenomena as exceptional, unique, and particular. Methodically, historical understanding be based on the epoch's own premises, and all evaluations should proceed from internal rather than external criteria.[16] This understanding of Herder can be extended to evaluating the textual matter taken into consideration with its own intrinsic worth. Thus, one can proceed from internal criteria rather than external as mentioned by Herder. Thus, this analysis can be concluded with the note that historical approach must be hermeneutically empathetic. Thus, the classical texts under consideration, in this paper need to be understood with a socio-political and historical context and at the same time the author- centric context.

In the course of interpretations of above mentioned points regarded as so-called ignorance of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, we have brought subjective and objective approaches on the same platform. On one hand we have tried to locate the evolution of the institution of sacrifice (objective) in the works of these authors and on the other hand tried to understand the socio-cultural scenario when these authors existed (subjective).

The ornate Sanskrit authors have presented before their readers literary texts woven with strands of their own genius and perception of the world as well as threads of socio-political and historical contexts. Hermeneutics, Indian or Western assists in appreciating and understanding the textuality of the Classicial texts by moving the reader closer to the author as well as closer to time when the author existed.

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16. *Ibid.* pp. 296-298.

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A NOTE ON *HAYAGRĪVAVADHA*

Satya Vrat Varma*

Of the vast mass of Sanskrit writings that have perished for diverse reasons not precluding the climatic vagaries and destructive operations of the bigot Muslim hordes, the *Hayagrīvavadha* (HV) calls attention on counts more than one. Though now lost, the encomia it has evoked from competent critics, over the years, reveal it for certain that it was a poem of high order. It is a measure of its manifold excellence that it has been quoted or otherwise referred to with quite some frequency in the celebrated works on poetics and dramaturgy to illustrate their respective precepts. These excerpts and allusions are happily rich enough to afford a peep into certain aspects of its contents and its structural and poetic significance. They addedly turn focus on a momentous issue pertaining to the author's perception of anti-hero *(pratināyaka)* which has stirred a lively controversy calling for a dispassonate resolution.

The combined testimony of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (ŚP) and *Kāvyānuśāsana* (KAŚ) leaves little doubt about the literary form the HV represented. They affirm it in unequivocal terms that the HV was a *Prabandha* (*=Mahā*) *kāvya* comprised of an unspecified number of cantos *(sargabandha)*[1], which in view of the rhetorical injunctions, could not have been less than eight[2], though the wide canvas of its narrative would bet for a hefty form consisting of eighteen to twenty cantos. Its clubbing together with such illustrious *Mahākāvyas* as the *Kirātārjunīya, Kumārasaṁbhava, Bhaṭṭikāvya* and *Śiśupālavadha,* brings out the happy fact that like them the HV was a comprehensive poem of great worth and commanded wide esteem. The ŚP[3] provides the crucial information that the edifice of the HV was raised on the kernel of the Purāṇic saga *(aitihāsikaṁ caritam)* of the great god, Lord Śiva. As subtly hinted by Bhoja's meaningful observation that its author had smoothened the *apeśala* (discordant)

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* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev flour Mill, Sri Ganganagar (Raj.)

1. स हयग्रीववधादिप्रबन्ध इव सर्गबन्धः स्यात्, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (ŚP), quoted in *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (ND), Exegete Acharya Vishveshvara, Delhi, 1990, *Bhūmikā,* p. 50; तत्र संस्कृतभाषानिबद्धसर्गबन्धं हयग्रीववधादि, *Kāvyānuśāsana* (KAŚ), ed. Rasik Lal C. Parikh and V.M. Kulkarni, Bombay, 1964, p. 461
2. नातिस्वल्पा नातिदीर्घाः सर्गा अष्टाधिका इह । *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (SD), ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1934, p. 532
3. ŚP, p. 152 ND. *op.cit, Bhūmikā,* p. 50 KAŚ, *Vṛtti, op. cit,* p. 458

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events to turn them into *peśala* (accordant) ones[4], Bhartṛmeṇṭha had not smugly accepted the conventional account of Mahādeva as such, but had discreetly pruned it of such addities as did not harmonize with the genius of the *Mahākāvya*. Whatever its virtues, the HV was written in the stereotyped style in obedience to the theory which insisted on a slew of hackneyed descriptions in the *Mahākāvya* to lend it added variety and appeal. We learn from the ŚP and KAŚ that the HV contained (besides others) descriptions of night and political parleys[5] *(pañcāṅga mantraḥ)*, which must have been worthy enough to engage the attention of such outstanding theoreticians as Bhoja and Hemacandra.

It is evident from the *avataranikā* आरम्भे सर्गबन्धस्य -----सन्तः शंसन्त्यनुष्टुभम् । यथा भर्तृमेण्ढस्य, to the verse quoted in the *Suvṛttatilaka* (from the HV) of Bhartṛmentha to illustrate the old practice of beginning the *Mahākāvya* with the *Anuṣṭup* metre, that the HV opened with the verse couched in the said metre and that met the approbation of the connoisseur.

आसीद् दैत्यो हयग्रीवः सुहृद्वेश्मसु यस्य ताः ।
प्रथयन्ति बलं बाहवोः सितच्छत्रस्मिताः श्रियः ।। (III. 16-17)

The verse thus has the distinction of being the first stanza of the HV. And it would be reasonable to presume that *Anuṣṭup* was the dominant metre of the first canto of the poem, which as provided by the theory must have changed towards the end of the canto.[6]

The verse seems to have been popular with the poeticians. Bhoja and Hemacandra quoted the verse to illustrate the type of *Mahākāvya* that began straightway with the narration of the story, without observing the formality of the traditional benediction[7]. Obviously the HV began with the *vastunirdeśa* inherent in the verse *āsid daityo hayagrivaḥ* etc. And Rājaśekhara, followed by Hemacandra, has picked it up to uphold his perception of the *aikya* of the demons, gods and *asuras*. The other two verses quoted by them as alternative illustrations of the phenomenon also seem to have been lifted from the HV.

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4. हयग्रीववधादयो महादेवादीनामैतिहासिकं चरितमावेदयन्ति, ŚP p. 168, ND, *op.cit, Bhūmikā*, p. 50 यस्मिन् इतिहासार्थानपेशलान् पेशलान् कविः कुरुते, ŚP, p. 156. ND. *op.cit, Bhūmikā*, p. 50

5. रात्रिवर्णनं किरातार्जुनीय-कुमारसम्भव-शिशुपालवध-हयग्रीववधादौ,
तत्र मन्त्रः पञ्चाङ्गः प्रतिपादितः । स यथा-किरातार्जुनीय-शिशुपालवधभट्टिकाव्य-हयग्रीववधादौ, KAŚ, *Vṛtti, op.cit*, p. 458; रात्रिवर्णनं किरातार्जुनीय- कुमारसम्भव- शिशुपालवध-हयग्रीववधादौ ŚP. p. 152 ND. *op.cit, Bhūmikā*, p. 50

6. एकवृत्तमयैः पद्यैरवसानेऽन्यवृत्तैः । SD, *op.cit*, p. 532

7. ŚP. Ch. XI; वस्तुनिर्देशो यथा हयग्रीववधे - आसीद् दैत्यो हयग्रीवः etc., KAŚ, *Vṛtti, op.cit*, p. 456

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दैत्यदानवासुराणामैक्यम् -
यथा च - अस्ति दैत्यो हयग्रीवः
यथा च हयग्रीवं प्रति -
दानवाधिपते भूयो भुजोऽयं किं न नीयते ।
सहायतां कृतान्तस्य क्षयाभिप्रायसिद्धिषु ।।

यथा च -
महासुरसमाजेऽस्मिन् न चैकोऽप्यस्ति सोऽसुरः ।
यस्य नाशनिनिष्पेषनीराजितमुरःस्थलम् ।।[8]

Because of its predilection for *vakrokti* the HV provided alluvial soil for the figure of speech *Paryāyokta* to sprout. And the poeticians have been quick to muster the instances thrown up by it. Ruyyaka has quoted the following verse from the HV to illustrate *Paryāyokta* in his *Alaṁkārasarvasva*. It is Hayagrīva's victory over the heaven that is implied here, but it is expressed in an indirect way through the operation of his army men.

स्पृष्टास्ते नन्दने शच्याः केशसम्भोगलालिताः ।
सावज्ञं पारिजातस्य मञ्जर्यो यस्य सैनिकैः ।।
अत्र हयग्रीवस्य कार्यमुखेन स्वर्गविजयो वर्णितः, प्रभावातिशयप्रतिपादनं च ।[9]

Another interesting instance of *Paryāyokta* from the HV is met with in Rājānaka Tilaka's commentary on the *Kāvyālaṁkārasaṁgraha* of Udbhaṭa. The suggested sense that both Indra and his mount Airāvaṇa lost their nerve at the mere sight of Hayagrīva has been conveyed in the verse through periphrasis.

हयग्रीवदर्शने शक्रैरावणौ निर्मदौ जातौ इति वक्तव्ये -
यं प्रेक्ष्य चिरस्ढापि निवासप्रीतिरुज्झिता ।
मदेनैरावणमुखे मानेन हृदये हरेः
इति भङ्क्त्यन्तरेणाऽभिधीयमाने तदा पर्यायोक्तता ।[10]

The verse has been quoted by Mammaṭa rather boldly without any reference to Hayagrīva[11], which on the face of it, leaves its source a trifle uncertain.

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8. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (KM), *ed.* Kedar Nath Sharma, Patna, 1965, Chapter XVI, p. 225. The excerpt is met with verbatim in the KAŚ also, *op.cit.*, p. 31
9. *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, KM 35, p. 142
10. *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sāra-saṁgraha*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 55, 1959, p. 44
11. *Kāvyaprakāśa* (KP), ed. Acharya Vishveshvara, Varanasi, 1960, p. 511

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Perhaps, the most significant allusions to the HV occur in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, though they tend to project the poem in an unflattering light. Mammaṭa has sought to illustrate the *adhama kāvya* with the following verse, which in view of its contents, seems to have been drawn from the HV. It is, however, a different matter if with its winsome overtones inherent in the brilliant *utprekṣā*, ringing *Anuprāsa* and implied *Vīrarasa*, the verse can hardly be run down as an example of the worst form of poetry.

विनिर्गतं मानदमात्ममन्दिराद् भवत्युपश्रुत्य यदृच्छयापि यम् ।
ससम्भ्रमेन्द्रद्रुतपातितार्गला निमीलिताक्षीव मियामरावती ।।[12]

Mammaṭa has further exemplified the *rasadoṣa* अङ्गस्याप्यतिविस्तृतिः (exhaustive description of the secondary character) with a reference to the way Hayagrīva was described in the HV. The detailed description of Hayagrīva's exploits in the poem, despite his secondary status as an anti hero, Mammaṭa contends, overshadows the hero in stature and blunts the development of *rasa*, and is, therefore, open to the said blemish : अङ्गस्याप्रधानस्यातिविस्तरेण वर्णनं हयग्रीववधे हयग्रीवस्य ।[13]

Mammaṭa's view has been stoutly contested by the authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (ND), who prefer to call अङ्गस्याप्यतिविस्तृतिः as अङ्गौग्र्यम्. In their opinion by highlighting the splendour and might of the anti-hero, who was to meet his end at the Lord's hands, the exhaustive description of his *Carita* in the HV rather contributes to the emergence of *vīrarasa* with greater vigour, but for which it could have lost some of its vehemence. They tend to view it as a *vṛttadoṣa* a flow pertaining to the execution of the narrative, that has somewhat truncated the treatment of the hero in the poem : केचिदत्र हयग्रीववधे हयग्रीववर्णनमुदाहरन्ति । स पुनर्वृत्तदोषो वृत्तनायकस्याल्पवर्णनात् । तत्र हि वीरो रसः, स विशेषतो वध्यस्य शौर्यविभूत्यतिशयवर्णनेन भूष्यते ।[14]

By all accounts Bhartṛmeṇṭha, the author of the HV seems to have been a highly gifted poet. Critics and poets have virtually broken into poems of the manifold virtues of his muse. Rājaśekhara towers above them all. He hails Bhartṛmeṇṭha as an incarnation of Vālmīki, the immortal bard[15], notes with glu the flying colours with which he had come out of the gruelling

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12. KP, *op.cit.*, p. 33
13. *Ibid*, p. 362
14. ND. *op.cit*, p. 327
15. बभूव वल्मीकप्रभवः पुरा कविः
    ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तुमेण्ठताम् । *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I. 16
16. श्रूयते चोज्जयिन्यां काव्यकारपरीक्षा-
    इह कालिदासमेण्ठावत्रामररूपसूरभारवयः ।
    हरिचन्द्रचन्द्रगुप्तौ परीक्षिताविह विशालायाम् ।। KM, Chapter X, p. 136

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literary evaluation at Ujjayinī[16], and lavishes gushing praise on the excellence of his *vakrokti* As put by him, prompted by the good of Bhartṛmeṇṭha's *vakrokti* even the elephants of poets *(kavikuñjaras)* shook their heads in admiration of his art.

वक्रोक्त्या मेण्ठराजस्य वहन्त्या सृणिरूपताम् ।
आविद्धा इव धुन्वन्ति मूर्धानं कविकुञ्जराः ।।[17]

Bhartṛmeṇṭha seems to have been popular with the anthologists as well. They have attributed a number of verses to him and quoted them as such in the respective *subhāṣita-saṁgrahas.* Some of the verses quoted therein are indeed marked by poetic flights, while some sound prosaic. Whether they all are Bhartṛmeṇṭha's compositions is far from certain. Some of the interesting stanzas, however bear reproduction for their poetic virtues.

अम्मोमुचां सलिलमुद्गिरतां निशीथे
ताडीवनेषु निमृतस्थितकर्णतालाः ।
आकर्णयन्ति करिणोऽर्धनिमीलिताक्षा
धारारवं दशनकोटिनिषण्णहस्ताः ।।[18]

महद्भिरौधैस् तमसामभिद्रुतो
भयेऽप्यसम्मूढमतिः क्रमन् क्षितौ ।
प्रदीपवेषेण गृहे गृहे स्थितो
विखण्ड्य देहं वहुधेव भास्करः ।।[19]

यदृच्छासिद्धिषु प्रेम गुरुपूजास्वनादरः ।
व्याधिद्वयमिदं लक्ष्म्या क्षितौ ख्यातमनौषधम् ।।[20]

तथाप्यकृतकोत्तालहासपल्लविताधरम् ।
मुखं ग्रामविलासिन्याः सकलं राज्यमर्हति ।।[21]

The story related in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Mātṛgupta, the ruler of Kashmir, after initial indifference, honoured Bhartṛmeṇṭha's poem by placing a gold-platter under it so that its poetic *rasa* (virtues) did not escape to the ground, evidently implies, even if it be a folk stuff, that the *Hayagrīvavadha* was a poem of considerable merit.

Loss of such a worthy poem is surely regretable.

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17. Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali,* (GOS 82), 1938, IV. 61
18. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (Vidyākara), 1558
19. *Subhāṣitāvali,* ed. Peterson, Bombay, 1886, p. 640
20. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta,* 576
21. *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* III. 258-262

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ŚRĪŚIVARĀJYODAYAM - A HISTORICAL EVALUATION

Vandana Lele*

Sanskrit literature is the pride of India. Its development and growth in India is broadly divided into three phases i.e. Vedic literature- a mark of Aryan culture in India, Classical literature- the rise of literary activities in the golden era of the Gupta rulers and Modern Sanskrit literature- a mark of renaissance from the dormant state of literary activities. All these three eras have gifted remarkably great literary masterpieces on various subjects like astrology, medicine, mathematics, music, science and many more. However, in the past, the subjects like history, geography, sociology etc. were not separate branches of learning as we have today. They are integrated in the literature at the time of compositions and thus have become the subjects of research for the modern Sanskrit scholars. This paper has made an attempt to evaluate the modern *Mahākāvya Śrīśivarājyodayam* written in 20th century by Dr. S.B. Varnekar that depicts the history of Śivāji (17th century A.D.) from traditional and modern historical perspectives.

The Historical Literature:

In this vast ocean of literature, the *Mahākāvyas* occupy special position due to the blending of history with poetic elements like *rasa, vṛtta, guṇa, rīti* and *alaṁkāras.* In *Mahākāvyas,* history is blended with many layers of *kāvya* that give pleasure to general readers and critics from *Kāvyaśāstras.* Regarding the theme of the *Mahākāvya* it must be derived from the historical or otherwise with some substantial background mentions Daṇḍin in *Kāvayādarśa.*[1] Therefore, the *Mahākāvyas* are important from the study of literary and historical point of view. About the history, Dr. S.B. Varnekar says, "Most of the ancient Indian history is derived from the Sanskrit literature."[2] Usually, our *Mahākāvyas* have historical and Purāṇic characters which narrate the history of the kings and gods but with the changing time, the political figures, saints, noble persons have also occupied the place. According to Dr. S.B. Varnekar, the trend of biographical writing on contemporary kings has been established by

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1. इतिहासकथोद्भूतम् इतरद्वा सदाश्रयम् । *Kāvyādarśa.* 1.15 (a)

2 Varnekar, S.B., *Arvācīna Sanskṛta Sāhitya,* Modern Book Stores, Nagpur, 1963, p. 93

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Bāṇabhaṭṭa who composed a prose work *'Harṣacaritam'* under the patronage of Harṣavardhana.[3]

While taking the stock of biographical compositions of the classical era, we have *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, *Buddhacaritam* of Aśvaghoṣa, *Harṣacaritam* of Bāṇa, *Naiṣadhīyacaritam* of Śrīharṣa etc. Following the footsteps of the classical poets, in the modern era a remarkable historical literature is composed on various personalities from the different fields such as political, historical and social. Among them, the notable are *Gāndhicaritam* by Charudeva Shastri, *Gāyakavāḍabandha* by Vedamurti Ramashastri, *Patañjalicaritam* by Ramachandra Dikshit, *Vivekānandacaritam* by Dr. G.B. Palasule, *Tilakayaśorṇava* by Madhavashrihari,[4] *Subhāṣacaritam* by Kavi Kedar, *Śrī Dayānandacaritam* by Ramakant Upadhyay[5] and many more. Number of works are found on Śivaji as we have *Śivabhārata* composed by the contemporary poet Paramananda in the seventeenth century, *Parṇālaparvatākhyānam* by another contemporary poet Jayarama Pindye, *Śivājicaritam* by Kavi Kalidasa Vidyavinod, *Śivarājyavijaya* by Ambika Dutta Vyas, *Chatrapati Śivājimahārājacaritam* by Hasurkar and so on.[6] Later Dr. S.B. Varnekar composed a *Mahākāvya Śrīsivarājyodayam* and a play *Śivarājyābhiṣekam.*

Śrīśivarājyodayam

The *Mahākāvya Śrīsivarājyodayam* (SSR), a voluminous and scholarly work by Dr. Shridhar Bhaskar Varnekar is one of the finest compositions of the twentieth century published in 1972. The work is awarded by Sahitya Academy for its excellence. The poem delineates the biography of Śivāji- one of the greatest warriors of the seventeenth century in sixty-eight cantos. As the title suggests, it delineates the history of the rise of king Śivāji's kingdom, removing the darkness of the *Mleccha* rulers. The author, in his prologue states that from childhood, he was inspired from within, to write a *Mahākāvya* on the life of Śivāji.[7] When he actually initiated his work he came across with many works available on Śivāji. He also read the Marathi work *'Rājā Śivachatrapati'* of Shri B.M. Purandare, which he has considered as the final authority for his work.[8] As of today, Shri Purandare's work is regarded as one of the most authentic sources on Śivāji.

3. *Ibid*, p. 48

4. Varnekar, S. B., *Sanskṛta Vāṅmaya Koṣa*, Vol. II, Bharatiya Bhasa Parishad, Calcutta, 1988, pp. 93, 126, 177, 337

5. Pandya, Nehal, *A Bibliography of Sanskrit Creative Writing of 21st Century*, Arvachin Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Baroda, 2011

6. Varnekar, S. B., *Arvācina Sanskṛta Sāhitya*, Modern Book Stores, Nagpur, 1963, pp. 50, 51

7. Varnekar, S. B., *Śrīśivarājyodayam*, Sharada Gaurava Granthamala, Puṇyapattanam, 1972, p. 1

8. अतः परं तमेव चरित्रग्रन्थं प्रमाणीकृत्य स्वीयं महाकाव्यं लिखिष्यामि (लेखिष्यामि) इति मया निश्चितम् ॥ *SSR*, Prologue, p. 6

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The introduction given by Dr. G. B. Palasule to this *Mahākāvya* is a special feature of this work. The other significant feature of this *kāvya* is noticed in its benediction verse. The author offers his worship to 'one god' instead of a particular god that reflects the author's belief in *ekeśvaravāda* (SSR, 1.1). The beginning of the 18th *sarga* has another benediction verse as a mark of the author getting back to his stalled work of SSR. Thus, the poem has two benediction verses which is an exception from all other works.

Some definitions of word History:

The word 'History' in Sanskrit is defined as *'iti ha āsa'* meaning 'The events that took place'.[9] According to Durgācārya, ''it happened so' when narrated is called history''.[10] In *Amarakoṣa,* the meaning of *itihāsa* is given as *'pūrāvṛttam'* - the past event.[11] History is also seen from the philosophical point of view, which defines it as 'the literature which contains legends of ancient period and the discourse on four human goals e.g. *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa* is called *itihāsa.'*[12]

Thus, history is about the narration of past events. This narration involves the process of the human mind for things to be told as they are but, it is contaminated due to the subjective nature of a human being. Also, when the event is recorded at the same time the accuracy level is greater but, when written later or the hearsay accounts have imaginary part too. Such events being critically examined by scholars make history to be considered as a branch of science that gives a true account of the events that happened in the past.

Traditionally, in India, history has been often woven with myths and legends in the form of *kāvya* literature. For example, works like *Śrīharṣacarita* of Bāṇa, *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharṣa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, and *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and so on. These *kāvyas* refer to some definite event and sometimes give genealogical details of alleged descent.[13] They were far away from truth and critical analysis as facts were wrapped in panegyric, fiction and poetical embellishments by poet. During that period, kings were the patron of the court poets appointed by them. Therefore, the poets wrote the history of their kings, which endorsed only victories of their master and the defeats were never recorded.

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9. Dange, Sindhu, *Bhāratīya Sāhityacā Itihāsa,* Vol. 1, Mangal Prakashan, Nagpur, 1975, p. 271

10. *The Niruktam of Yāska Muni, vṛtti,* 2.3.10, इति हैवमासीदिति यत्रोच्यते स इतिहासः । पुरावृत्तख्यापकः समाचारः ।। edited by Mukund Jhā Bakshi, published by Pāṇḍurang Jāwajī, Nirnaya-Sagar press, Bombay, 1930

11. इतिहासः पुरावृत्तमुदात्ताद्यास्त्रयः स्त्रराः । *Amarakoṣa,* 319

12. धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणामुपदेशसमन्वितम् । पुरावृत्तकथायुक्तमितिहासं प्रचक्षते ।। Apte, V.S., *The Practical Sanskrit- English Dictionary,* Motilal Banarasidaas, Delhi, 11th reprint 2010, P. 245

13. Keith, A.B., *Classical Sanskrit Literature,* YMCA Publication House, Calcutta, 1936, p. 57

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Thus, these *kāvyas* were filled with eulogies of their patron kings rather than real character-drawing. Due to the biased approach of the poets towards historical events, the authentic accounts could not come down to the people. In this regard A.B. Keith says, "In view of the antiquity and developed character of Indian civilization, it would indeed be ridiculous to expect to find India destitute of historical sense, but what is really essential is the fact that, despite abundance of its literature, history is so miserably represented, and that in the whole of the great period of Sanskrit literature there is not even one writer who can be seriously regarded as a critical historian."[14]

Sources of History:

In ancient times, sources of getting historical data was limited up to inscriptions, *Praśastis* and Purāṇas and that too was in a panegyric form that concealed poor accounts of the rulers. There is a considerable share of Sanskrit *kāvyas* to construct missing links of events. The records of foreign visitors like Magasthenes (Greece) and Huan tsang (China) also helped to draw some historical data of ancient India. And as the time progressed more awareness came with the advent of foreigners in the country. The historian, V.K. Rajawade says that, "the Marathas started writing *bakhars* following the footsteps of Muslims *tawārikhas*."[15] In Marathi literature, *'bakhar'* is one of the important sources of recording historical events in the *gadya* form.[16] Śivāji's historical data is sourced from *bakhars*, the original official correspondence, original letters, *powāde*, muslim *tawārikh*, the history written by Grant Duff, the poem of *Kavi Bhūṣaṇa* etc. These *bakhars* are critically examined by Grant Duff, the critics of the nineteenth century such as V.C. Bendre, Shirvadkar, Kale and many more.

Historical Evaluation of SSR:

SSR, a biographical *Mahākāvya* of 20th century narrates the history of Śivāji who flourished in the 17th century. The poem contains chronological historical events associated with the life of Śivāji up to his coronation ceremony as poet firmly believes that the coronation ceremony was a mark of culmination of Śivāji's career.[17] This historical poem is evaluated from the point of legacy of traditional historical *Mahākāvyas* and the modern historical approach on a comparative basis.

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14. Keith, A. B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, reprint 2010, p. 144

15. Rajawade, V.K., *Aitihāsika Prastāvanā*, Shankar Narhari Joshi, Pune, 1928, p. 2

16. Tilak V. and Joshi A., *Marāthyāncyā Itihāsāci Sādhane*, published by Aruna Jakhade, 2009, p. 29

17. चिरादस्तमितः विक्रमार्जित-स्वायत्त-राज्याभिषेक एव महापुरुषस्यास्य अद्भुत-रमणीये वीर-चरिते परमोत्कर्षास्पदम् । *SSR*, p. 7

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Traditional Approach:

1) Kings as Patron to the Poets:

It is seen that the earlier biographical *Mahākāvyas* were written by the contemporary poets appointed by the kings. They were primary source to extract history to some extent. *Kavindra* Paramananda - the contemporary poet and the court poet of Sivaji, composed *Śivabhārata* which was the first hand source material and was used to construct authentic history of Śivāji by scholars. The writer of this *Mahākāvya* under consideration did not have such direct contact to the king. Thus, the history is rewritten for the creativity.

2) The Element of Devotion:

Among the various sources of historical data of Śivāji, majority of the records are available from the *Śivabhārata* of *Kavi* Paramananda, the *bakhars,* foreign records on Śivāji. the correspondence of Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa with Śivāji, *Dāsabodha* of Rāmadāsa and *Powāḍe* of Shāhiras and many more.[18] However, Shri Varnekar has not chosen these direct sources for his composition; instead his work is based on *'Rājā Śivachatrapti'* (RS)-a biography written by Shri Bābā Sāheb Purandare. RS is considered to be one of the authentic sources on Śivāji as it is near to the historical truth. It is a *bakhar* of twentieth century asserts Shri Purandare[19] but at the same time Purandare's view towards Śivāji's life is devotional, criticizes renowned novelist Raṇjita Desāī.[20] Even Shri Narahara Kurundakara in his introduction to *'Śrīmāna Yogī* 'agrees to the criticism of Raṇjita Desāī.[21] Thus, RS is a historic work but with pure devotion to Śivāji and with poetic embellishment and charm which has attracted not only the layman but also has gained popularity among scholars. Similarly, SSR has the touch of devotion since it is based on RS and also the author's love and respect for Śivāji is revealed in introduction that is indicative of the highest devotion.[22]

3) The Purpose of Composition:

Mammaṭa in *Kāvyaprakāśa* mentions the six *prayojanas* of a *kāvya*.[23] The poets of classical

18 Tilak, V. and Joshi, A., *Marāthyānchyā Itihāsāchi Sādhane,* published by Aruna Jakhade, 2009, p. 27

19. Purandare, B.M., *Rājā Śivachatrapati,* Vol. 1, Purandare Prakashan, Pune, 2010, p. 7

20. Desai, Ranjit, *Shriman Yogi,* Mehta Publishing House, Pune, 2011, p. 3

21. *Ibid.*, p. 10

22. तन्मया परया भक्त्या कविताविषयीकृतम् ।
संप्रीतयेऽस्तु सर्वेषां सज्जनानां निरन्तरम् ॥ *SSR*, p. 8

23. काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये । सद्यः परनिर्वृतये कान्तासंमिततयोपदेशयुजे ॥ *Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa*, 1.2

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period were dependent on rewards from the king as a source of income. Thus, the *artha* (money) was the prime objective for the compositions. Therefore, *kāvyas* were composed just to praise the kings. It is inferred that the purpose of composition of this *Mahākāvya* does not seem only to be *artha* (money) but, to pay respect to the national hero.

4) The Element of Eulogy:

The classical historical *kāvyas* composed by the court poets consisted of the eulogies of their patron kings to show their reverence to the kings hence, they were quite away from the reality. In the case of SSR though there is authenticity of history, there is a greater element of eulogy of Śivāji. In the poem, the poet glorifies Śivāji's character with number of epithets.[24] The birth of Śivāji is imagined as incarnation of god which is predicted in the wedding ceremony of Śahāji and Jijābāi.[25] He is imagined as the protector of cows like Kṛṣṇa in one of the stanzas by the author.[26] Regarding the divine birth of Śivāji as imagined by the people, D.V. Kale in his article on *'Bakharas* and Coronation' writes that "Either they *(bakharakāra)* have absolute faith in the divine origin or immaculate virtues of the hero they write about or they are intent on producing a picture for a desired effect caring little for the truth and logic of what they write. They freely indulge in anachronisms, exaggeration of their hero."[27]

5) Influence of *Rājā Śiva Chatrapati* of Shri Purandare:

Dr. Varnekar has relied upon RS as an authentic source of information for his composition but most of the contents of SSR are quite similar in presentation. At many places he has maintained the same sequence of events. In one of the stanzas Dr. Varnekar has Sanskritised the proper names of Śivāji's council of ministers taken from RS (SSR 58.2, 3vs RS vol.ii. p.270).

To cite few more examples for study-

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24. SSR, धीरधुरन्धरः (२२.४६) गूढरन्ध्रो रिपुरम्भ्रदर्शी (१५.४),
नीतिमर्मज्ञः(२२.२), चपलस्वभावो जिज्ञासुरन्यायनिराकरिष्णुः (७.३०)

25. माद्यन्म्लेच्छगणान्निहन्तुमखिलान् त्रातुं सतीसज्जनान्
धर्मं स्थापयितुं श्रुतिस्मृतिगतं पातुं गोब्राह्मणान् । दम्पत्योरखण्डितयशाः कश्चित् पुनर्यायतां
यो दिव्याद्भूतसद्गुणैरगणितैः कुर्यात् जगन्मङ्गलम् ।। SSR, 3.78

26. आलोक्य गोत्राणामदृष्टपूर्वं सविस्मयं सा जनता बभाण ।
गोरक्षार्थं धृतबालरूपः कृष्णः स्वयं भूमितलेऽवतीर्णः ।।SSR,7.52

27. Article of D. V. Kale, *Chatrapati Shivaji Coronation Tercentenary Commemoration Volume*, edited by B.K. Apte. University of Bombay, Bombay, 1974-75, pp. 8, 9

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i) The roaring sounds during the encounter to motivate armies of both the parties described in SSR are picked up from RS.[28]

ii) Certain dates of the events are taken from RS (SSR 29.76 vs. RS p.295).

iii) The description of an island seen near the port of Mālvaṇa by Śivāji is almost similar to that in RS.[29]

iv) In SSR, the description of Śivāji's visit to Aurangzeb is as similar as in RS.[30]

It may be said that these observations make this *Mahākāvya* partly copious work of RS.

6) Historical Discrepancies:

In few cases, the author has not critically examined some of the incidents. For example,

i) Śivāji does not bow his head to king Ādilśāh in the assembly despite being taught etiquettes of the assembly by Śahāji (SSR.7.37) and in Vijapur, Śivāji opposes cow slaughter (SSR 7.44-51). These events are critically examined by Dr. V. C. Bendre who opines that "few *bakhar* narrators have described these incidents which are unreal and imaginary so they are not worth to be critically examined."[31] Further, the author describes Dādoji Koṇḍadeva as the preceptor of Śivāji who taught him lessons in war techniques (SSR 5.19-25). According to V.C. Bendre, Dādoji Koṇḍadeva was not a preceptor of Śivāji.[32]

ii) In the third *sarga, 'Vasantamāñgalyam'*, author describes the wedding ceremony of Śahāji and Jījābāi with full poetic beauty of the *'Vasanta'* season, its celebration by Lakhujī Yādava - the father of Jījābāi, arrival of Māloji with his son Śahāji on the invitation of Lakhujī Yādava, the celebration of the season and the announcement of the wedding and the actual

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28 (a) दोन्ही ही बाजूंनी आरडा ओरड होत होता 'हरहर महादेव' ! 'दीन्, दीन्, दीन्' ! RS, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.388,
(b) दीन्, दीन् इति प्रोद्धतवीरवर्यैरुद्घोषिताऽसौ रणगर्जना नः । प्रकम्पयामास समस्तशैलगुहाशया-
नुन्मदसिंहसंधान् ।। SSR, 18.34

29. (a) कासवाच्यापाठी सारखा काळाखडक सागरलाटांशी झिम्मा खेळत होता. RS, *op.cit.*, Vol.I,
(b) ततोऽचिरेणाम्बुधितीरसंस्थे सहयाद्रिशृङ्गे विचरन् स वीरः । विशालकूर्मप्रतिम् जलान्तर् लध्वन्तरीपं सहसा ददर्श ।।
SSR,45.5

30. महाराजांनी मुजरा केला तीन्दा. पण त्यातला पहिला मुजरा होता, शंभुशंकराला दुसरा मुजरा होता, तीर्थरुप शहाजी महाराजांना अन तिसरा मुजरा होता आईसाहेबांना ! *RS*, Vol.II, p. 150
देशकालविशेषज्ञः शिवस्त्रिरनमत् तदा । ईश्वरं पितरं चिते संस्मरन् मातरं तथा ।। *SSR*, 52.27

31. Bendre,V.C., *Śrī Chatrapatī Śivājī Mahārājā Yānce Vicikitsaka Caritra*,
Vol. 1, Published by V.C.Bendre, Mumbai, 1972, pp. 31-33.

32. *Ibid.* p.34.

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wedding ceremony (3.26-32, 3.64-68). All these events are probably written to beautify the *kāvya* on imaginary basis and to suit the norms of *Mahākāvya*. While doing so there remained a discrepancy in the narration that the Mālojīi, the father of Śahāji never accompanied Śahāji as he was killed in one of the wars. The *RS,* too mentions that Vithojī Rajā, the uncle of Śahāji forwarded Śahāji's marriage proposal in absence of Mālojī-Śahājī's father who was killed in one of the battles he fought.[33] Even *Śivabhārata* of *Kavi* Paramananda talks about the death of Śahāji's father Māloji (2.1-5) and mentions that Jijā's father gave his daughter to Śahāji (2.42- 44).

7) The work SSR does not provide complete genealogy of king Śivāji as per the traditional *Mahākāvyas*. However, the author gives very scanty information about Śivāji's parents and at the same time Śivāji's extended race is purposely ignored (Prologue, p.7).

Modern Historical Approach:

I) The history of Mughal rulers, the English, the French and the Portuguese is delineated with equal justice. The poem also narrates the defeats of Śivāji which differentiates this poem from the traditional historical *kāvyas*. For instance, Śivāji lost the Battle of Parṇāla fort (SSR 51.12-15) the return of Purandara fort (SSR 50.14-16).

2) The poem does weave historical dates of certain events in the *slokas*. For instance, the date on which Afzulkhan was killed (SSR 29.76), Śivāji's *vratabandhana* ceremony (SSR 64.1) and Śivāji reaches Agra (SSR 52.1). Moreover, the titles of the certain *sargas* flash historic events. For example, *Afzula Pratijñā* (SSR 18), *Svātantrya Pratijñā* (SSR 9), *Śatruvyathā* (SSR 12), *Purandara Yuddham* (SSR 48) etc.

3) Unlike the historical *kāvyas of* past, there are didactic elements elaborating political wisdom in the poem, but erotic elements are totally absent.

Conclusion:

All these findings lead one to believe that SSR is not firsthand historical source like the *kāvyas* of classical era. It does give the historical events of Śivāji chronologically which is mainly extracted from RS sequentially so much so that a non-Marathi reader may find some difficulty in following the sequence of the events from *Mahākāvya*. However, the theme is significant and has its current utility for the readers those are well versed with Śivāji's history and also for the people from other regions. This literary masterpiece of the modern era is a trendsetter for the composers of biographical literature as it has preserved the traditionalism of classical literature in its poetic richness and also has a touch of the modernity in its style, language and modern approach towards history. The historical biographies are still in vogue and are widely appreciated by the readers that keep the legend and the author alive.

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RAṄGASAPTAKA - A Rainbow of 'Synergic Musing'

Mahesh Champaklal*

Raṅgasaptaka[1] an anthology of the Hindi translations of noted poet, playwright and theatre person-Kāvālam Nārāyaṇa Paṇikkar's Malayalam plays, duly edited by his student, Pramod Chavan with deep insight and published by Rajkamal Prakashan is indeed a noteworthy attempt to reach out to the wider world of Hindi theatre at the national level. The seven plays included in this anthology covers a time span of nearly forty years, the oldest of which is *Avanavan kaḍamba* [अपना-अपना कड़म्बा] which was first produced in 1974. The most recent among these plays is the stage version of *Uttara Rāmacaritam,* first produced in 2010. All the plays form essential steps in the stairs of the theatrical journey of his creative group *Sopānam* as claimed by the author in the preface.

The present anthology is divided into two parts. The first part consists of three plays based on Sanskrit classics which are recreated by K.N. Panikkar for their performance. In a way they are the stage versions of Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and *Svapnavāsavadatta;* Bhavabhuti's *Uttara Rāmacaritam* and the *Māyā-sītāṅkam,* the fifth act of Śaktibhadra's *Āścarya Cūḍamaṇi.* The first one *Svapnakathā,* is a significant joint venture with Bhārat Ratna Bhargav, a noted Hindi poet and theatre scholar, which was done for the second year students of National school of Drama. The translation work was done taking elements from two plays of *Mahākavi*-Bhāsa -*Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇam* and *Swapnavāsavadattam,* the source of which is *kathā* Literature of Guṇāḍhya. The whole created work involved therein as stated by Paṇikkar in his preface, the creation of the script which was translated into the rehearsals of the staging as well as the pedagogical aspect which was jointly done by Bhārgavji and Paṇikkar to the participating students. Along with this, Paṇikkar's work in the tuning of the lyrics as well as the detailed *Vācika* articulation of dialogues were in progress simultaneously. The important aspect stressed was the relationship between *swapna* and *satya;* how *swapna* becomes *satya* and vice versa. Paṇikkar wanted to project the philosophical aspect concerning

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1. *Raṅgasaptaka,* (Hindi Translation of seven dreams by Kavalam Pannikkars, Ed. by Chavan Pramod, Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi, 2013, pp.180. Price. Rs. 400/-

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these two and he had a thorough discussion with the translator Bhārgavji on the production requirements, who could successfully provide the necessary poetic images put to different metrical structures to suit the choreography. This is how the performance text was jointly evolved. According to B.R. Bhargav, Paṇikkar has tried to strike balance between the biological needs and the administrative duties of king Udayana through his 'performance text' which is the most important aspect of this new version.

Paṇikkar's experience with Hindi poet Udayana Vajpeyi in the translation work of Bhavabhūti's *Uttara Rāmacaritam* was equally rewarding hence, he considers it as another creative landmark in his quest for good theatre. How the text of the play has been evolved through poetic imagination, how it could combine with his demands in practical theatre was an invigoratingly re-creative experience for Paṇikkar who candidly admits in his preface that, the mutuality of lyrics and music, rhythm and imagery, meaning and movement, *vyaṅgya* and *vācya*-all in effect could overgrow our limitation in the totally involved spirit of synergy". Udayana, the translator was dexterously coining his poetic expression with the sensibility of -वचम् यमि with minimum words he could express the optimum. The entry of Rāma in the play with a dual mental state Antaradvandva highlights this quality of poet translator. Paṇikkar suggested that a mnemonics may be introduced along with the lyrics to imply this dual state of mind of Rāma and Udayanji composed the lyrics accordingly, the fusion of which augmented the production as a whole, claims K.N. Paṇikkar.

The play *Māyā* translated by B.R. Bhargav, belongs to a special category of adoptations of traditional plays based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme and is from *Māyā Sītā-Aṅkaṁ*, the fifth act of Āścarya Cōḍamaṇi of Śaktibhadra which is known for its dramatic re-interpretation of the events in *Rāmāyaṇa* with 7 *Aṅkas*, differently titled with their nomenclature, chosen in accordance with the theme of the play. In this play, Rāvaṇa transforms into *Māyā* Rāma which facilitates him to kidnap Sītā with confidence. Thus, we have two Sītās-one the original Sītā and the other Śūrpanakhā turned Sītā or the *Māyā* Sitā who hoodwinks Rāma and detains him in confusion when the latter actually witnesses the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa (*Māyā* Rāma). Lakṣmaṇa also has his double in Rāvaṇa's Charioteer who rides the areal chariot with the real Sītā and the *Māyā* Rāma while Rāma and *Māyā* Sītā witness this event.

This illusory game reaches its dramatic height when the real Lakṣmaṇa's arrow hits Mārīca, who while dying turns out to be Rāma in appearance (Mārīca being the third Rāma). Lakṣmaṇa takes Mārīca as real Rāma and fights with the real Rāma. This plot of the play seems very complicated but proves to be visually appealing and dramatically effective in

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production, suggesting that how a part of a play would create by itself a well structured and full-fledged performance when presented in *Kuḍiyāṭṭam* tradition, a theatre practice developed in Kerala, K.N. Paṇikkar rightly observes that all the seven acts of Āścarya Cūḍmaṇi provide greatly facile and potentially rich textual material for powerful sub-textral treatment by the *cakyārs* of Kerala, the traditional Sanskrit theatre actors. They prove their efficacy in elevating the text in action from *Avasthānukruti* to *Avasthānukirtanam* with all necessary embellishments and uppertenances required for the Indian Theatre. The brilliant translation rendered by B.R. Bhargav addresses the challenges in this play through the production point of view by recreating the text as an interesting reading material worthy of literary richness.

The second part of the anthology contains four Hindi translations of the original plays written by Paṇikkar in Malyalam. The first play "*Theyya Theyyam*" translated by B.R. Bhargav is a village version of *Rāmāyaṇa* as performed in Theyyam where the Rāmāyaṇa characters appear in the rural settings. There are two streams in the play one is the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa* context and parallel to that the ecperience in the life of *Theyyam* artist who plays the role of Rāvaṇa and who himself has committed murder in his real life, and police is after him. Ultimately during the performance of *Theyyam,* he appears as *Theyyam.* Thus, he becomes the *Theyyam* of the *Theyyam.* Hence, the title is *Theyya Theyyam* The interesting part of the play is that the ritual aspect involved in the life of Kerala vis-a-vis a performance form like *Theyyam* is taken to a contemporary situation and the mythological part also with equal importance goes with the ritual, both having their intrinsic relation with the life of the people. Bhargavji, while translating the play has brilliantly brought out the differant layers of spoken language.

The next play *Kaliveṣam* is an adaptation of *Nalacaritam,* which is celebrated as the *Śākuntalam* of Kerala written by Unnai warrier, renowned Malayalam poet of 19th century. The hero of the play Nala is a *Sāttvika* character and Kali an embodiment of evil had to wait for 12 years to find out a lacuna in the character of Nala to take possession of him. In the present adaptation of the Malayalam play *Kaliveṣam,* Kali and Nala are two different characters. The play depicts how kali enters into Nala and creates havoc in his life, how the intense love between him and Damayantī gets disturbed and how Nala could finally do away with this gruesome menace of Kali. In Paṇikkar's play, *kaliveṣam* the veṣa of kali also implies the conflict between the character of kali and the actor who is destined to take up such a negative role. The conflict takes place in the mind of the actor who is an orthodox individual. Kali instigates the actor to indulge in wine, women, playing dice and finally murder. The *kathakali* performance starts at night so kali stands behind the actor. "Get ready" he says, "I am going to enter into you." This way the character enter the psyche of the actor. On the other

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hand Kali is looking for an opportunity to enter into Nala. Thus, two entries are beautifully interwoven. The Hindi translation was done by Dr. Radhavallabh Tripathi on the basis of withnessing its production in Sanskrit at Bhopal in 2010. Though the translation was done on a different footing without having any interaction with Paṇikkar on the script, it was indeed a commendable work in the translation done by the eminent Sanskrit scholar and gifted Hindi writer like Tripathiji as confessed by Paṇikkar in his preface.

The play *Avanavan kaḍamba* (अपना-अपना कडम्बा)[2] as the title itself suggests, represents a self created hurdle which can be anything that stifles the free flow of human relationship. From the ideational level, this metaphor grows into a much larger dimension among villagers who form into two groups- *Gavvaiyyās* (singers) and *Nacaiyyās* (dancers). The metaphor turned imagery of *kaḍambā* is solidly depicted with the rhythmic support of mnemonics like आ ए ओ/आ आ ई ए ओ / ए ऐ ओ/ ए ए ए ओ which does not carry meaning, still makes it pregnant with appropriate feel ultimately resulting in the fall of individuals as well as groups. Here the ruler and the ruled, the murderer and the murdered, all are equally guilty one way or the other; may be due to selfishness, greed or on a social level napotism, corruption and the like. The ruler's son in desperately in love with the murderer's daughter. The strictly confidential trial of the murderer by the ruler ends up in a mockery and is exposed by the interference of *Gavvaiyyās* and*Nacaiyyās*. The play ends by the final crossing of kaḍambā by the group which is accomplished when they ritualistically get rid of their sins and surrender themselves to the common good. They could march towards their destination - the cherished goal where they have to join the festivities of life. Shri B. R. Bhargav has most aptly translated the Malayalam terms *Pattuparisha'* and *Attapandarangal'* as*Gavvaiyyās* and*Nacaiyyās* by imbibing their sense. By allowing the word kaḍāmba to remain as such in Hindi suffixed to *Avan-avan* making the whole name Apna Apna kaḍamba, the translator has dexterously engaged himself into the sphere of neologism by keeping intact the spirit of the theme of the play. The whole idea involved in this code word is subjected to constant encoding and decording by *Gavvaiyyā* and*Nacaiyyā* to register its significance in a relation to the individual visā-vis the social milieu - what a rich tribute paid by the original author to the translator! Actually this could happen because being a play with folk moorings, the rough preliminary work of translation was done by Bhargavji in the presence of K.N. Panikkar who tried to explain in detail all the semantic characteristics of the text and he could easily adapt them into the indigenous traditional equivalents, special to Rajasthan which included the syntax, rhythm and the lyrical flow in the vāchika textual component.

2. The complete poem in 20 parts, can be seen in *Devavāṇī-suvāsaḥ* (Dr. Ramakant Shukla Felicitation Volume), part I, Devavani Prakashan, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 101-111.

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Sūryasthānam' (sthit hai Sūrya), the last play in the anthology is actually one of Paṇikkar's early plays written in 1979 and produced on several occasions either in excerpts or as a whole for purpose of demonstration to theatre students. The storyline of the play is based on the myth of *Viṣuvat'* an auspicious occasion when the Sun God occupies the central position of the earth. This is the time when the day and the night are of eqal duration. The story depicts how the sub God, represented by Rāma, the Sūryavaṅsī defeats the evil force of darkness represented by Rāvaṇa, *Sūryasthanam* was first produced in its Hindi version done by Dr. Jagdish Sharma, the then research scholar working with Kalidas Academy, Ujjain who had done the translation after due discussion with Paṇikkar and getting help from the English translation done by late Shri Gopalkrishnan.

It is unfortunate that the Hindi translation or the Mewari translation of Paṇikkar's most celebrated play *Paśgāyatrī* directed by Bhanu Bharti is not included in this anthology due to non availability of the script from the translators, B. R. Bhargav and Deepak Joshi, respectively.

Pramod Chavan has taken a great pain while compiling these plays alongwith their translators' notes which give much insight into understanding the original scripts and their productions. The preface by Ashok Vajpayeeji throws ample light on Paṇikkar's rich contribution to Indian Theatre both as an outstanding director and playwright.

The most valuable aspect of the Anthology is a detailed preface-note given by Shri K.N. Panikkar from which I have exclusively quoted. His ideas about the subtext, *Vyaṅgyarth/ Dhwani,* role of myth theatre as a *cākṣuṣa yajña* -a ritual for the eyes are so unique and illuminating that one cannot study and understand indigenous theatre without considering them.

The joint venture of both the author and translators which is a Rainbow-seven colours of what Panikkarji calls Synergic Musing.' is indeed path breaking.

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REVIEW

***'Rambles in Vedānta'*, by B.R. Rajan Iyer, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 2015, (4th Reprint of 1974 Ed.) Price : Rs. 595/-, Pages 864.**

This is a fourth reprint of *'Rambles in Vedānta'* written by B.R. Rajam Iyer, first published in 1946 at Kolkata. Iyer was a graduate in English (1889), a diligent student, a humble individual, who turned to poetry and philosophy and yearned for the Truth of Existence. The Upaniṣads and the *Gītā* made him realize this when at very young age of 26, he made his way to the almighty after having sweet communion with the *Ātman.*

The book gives an illuminating and beautiful insight in the *Vedānta* school of Indian Philosophy. It deals with the ideals and elements of *Vedānta* and the exposition of *Vedānta* symbology by taking recourse to the stories and illustrations drawn from Epics, *Purāṇas* and classics. Most of the existing books on *Vedānta* rely on the scriptural approach in presenting it. Some books mix it with the rational and experiential approaches as well, without always distinguishing clearly between them. This book tries to accord an independent status to each of these approaches without losing sight of their interconnection in the hope that the readers will find such a presentation refreshing.

The book is divided into nine parts as follows- 1 Ideals of *Vedānta* 2 Elements of the *Vedānta* 3 Thoughts on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* 4 Symbology 5 Imitations of Vyāsa 6 Pitfalls in the *Vedānta* 7 Seekers after God 8 True greatness 9 Miscellaneous stories and Appendix.

It starts with a befitting introduction. The world today is unaware of the process of learning. It is taught neither in a school or university nor in a moral or religious institution. Thus people go through a mechanical way of living, merely following a routine of their predecessors. They lack the fundamental knowledge of living and become victims of stress and strain. According to the author, the world presents two distinct classes of people. One class is active, productive and prosperous. The western world seems to fit into this category. However, by their own admission, they have lost their peace of mind. The other class of people is relatively peaceful and happy but without much action. Since they lack action they are not productive, prosperous. Thus there is action without peace on one side and peace

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without action on the other. One wonders, if it is possible to combine dynamic action with mental peace. *Vedānta* provides the answer. After reading this book, we can surely say that the author has imbibed the knowledge of *Vedānta,* learnt and practiced the technique of living, lived a dynamic life of action while enjoying perfect peace and happiness within.

Even a quick glance at the contents and the range, richness and variety of the subjects included should make one feel that Rajam Iyer has delved deep into the fountain of *Vedānta* and spent years in understanding their intricacies and mastering their mysteries.

In the first and second chapter the author deals with the ideals of *Vedānta* and elements of *Vedānta.* Here the author gives his vision on *Karma yoga, Bhakti, Parā Bhakti,* fatalism, *karma* and freedom, faith, work and sainthood, the glory of suicide etc. He also gives his view, through Vedantic outlook, about the concept of happiness, *Jñāna,* the *Ātman,* the self in us. The author presents a rational approach. Through logical discussion the author leads us to the truth of one absolute reality as Brahman. Brahman is the unchanging internal reality behind the changing world. In the third, fourth and fifth chapter the author depicts some concepts from Vedantic point of view. For example, the anthem to the *Ātman,* the crisis, the doctrine of non resistance, the direct means of *Mokṣa,* heaven and hell, God, the great *Saṁsārī,* the glory of love etc. In this chapter, the discussion centres round the individual-subject the *Jīvātman,* The rational analysis of the individual self as finite with its limiting adjuncts on one hand and as infinite and one with Brahman on the other hand is lucid and clear.

The order of chapters here, seems bit confusing, because chapters 3-5 deal with *Bhagavadgītā* and thereafter pitfalls in the *Vedānta* follow. In the sixth, seventh and eighth chapters the author explains about enunciation, real asceticism, the Vaishnavite sages like Śrī Alawander, Buddha, Saint Vayilar, Śrī Tatwaraya Swāmī, Śrī Ramakrisna Paramahansa, Śrī Jayadeva Swāmī Samādhī etc. In this part the author has presented the experiences of the Supreme reality as detailed by men of realization. The quotations are of modern day mystics like Srī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa, Śrī Tatwawarya Swāmī, Śrī Jayendra Swāmī etc.

However, the author, while exploring the various types of *yoga* seems to have missed the process of spiritual education which follows the concept of *'Adhikāribheda'*. However, he has elaborated the paths in accordance with the different tendencies of individuals. In the ninth and miscellaneous chapters, the author describes various stories like the beach, the story of Śuka, the secret of death, end of desire etc.

The principle aim which runs throughout from the short story of Śuka's advent to the long life tale of Vārṇadeva and other miscellaneous stories is the realization of self, the knowledge of the *Ātman,* the elaboration and impression of the sublime truth taught by all religions and sages of antiquity, Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa and Jesus Christ.

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The author has delved deep into the subjects of great controversy such as the concepts of *Ātman, Karma yoga, Bhakti,* virtue and sin and has cleared the intricacies of the subject matter in as simple, lucid and interesting style as possible.

This book is a great tribute to a man who was not 'rich' in money or high up in social life, but was certainly 'rich' in ethical and spiritual values and high in the world of the 'voluntary poor'. As it is said, "Such great men live behind their foot prints on the sands of time" and Rajam Iyer has certainly done so and generations to come will profit by his writing. Rajam Iyer had realized the truth of his existence, which made possible the preparation for a higher one and enabled him, at the early age of twenty-six to face death without fear or frown and to pass away from his mortal coil, calmly and cheerfully.

While rambling through these fields, Rajam Iyer's eyes have been peering carefully through these things and have sought the essence from the outward. Each one of the *Vedānta* doctrines, the theory of *Karman,* renunciation, asceticism and a host of others have, through the ages, suffered from distortions at the hands of those advocates who, though well intentioned, have somehow missed the total perspective and made a religion of the parts that fascinated them most. These have also suffered from misrepresentations by ill-informed foreigners who, having no access to the originals had to rely on unauthorized English translations attempted by half baked scholars.

But in this book, such distortions have been corrected. We find the author placing every doctrine, view and way of life in its proper setting and perspective, thus absolving these of charges that are only too common, charges such as the pessimistic tone of Indian Philosophy, its negative and ascetic ideals as they are made out even by Albert Schewetzer, a sound scholar, known for his catholicity.

This voluminous book is exhausting due to its varied and deep contents; yet essential for every student of *Vedānta.*

Mumbai **Gauri Mahulikar**

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Verri Verkai or Hand with a Victorious Spear - A popular book of Maxims attributed to the 16th century South Indian king Ativirarama Pantiyan, translated by Stephen Hiller Levitt, pp 1-36, Price : 200/-.

Verri Verkai translated by Stephan Hillyer Levitt is a book of popular maxims. It is attributed to the authorship of the 16th century Tamil King Ativirarama Pantiyan. A book of proverbial maxims *Verri Verkai* is learnt by all school children in Tamilnadu as well as where Tamil is taught as a native language; in countries such as Sri Lanka and Malaysia. The author points out in the introduction that it ranks along with Auvaiyar's Atticuti as a book that imparts morality in an easy and approachable manner. The Verri Verkai takes its name from the first two words of the first verse.

The author of *Verri Verkai*, Ativirarama Pantiyan ruled as a subordinate of the Madurai Nayak viceroy of the Vijayanagar King. His birth is said to be set at 1539 A.D. He was a great patron of Tamil and was himself well versed in both Tamil and Sanskrit. Among his other compositions are *Naitatam*, the story of Nala and Damayanti based on Harsha's Sanskrit *Naiṣadhacarita*. He is known for elegant Tamil versification and the *Verri Verkai* reveals this.

Tamil literary tradition is unique in that Tamil is the only living classical language to date or so the translator Levitt claims. In that respect the *Verkai* assumes significance as an important bearer of 16th century maxims and proverbs to the present 21st century. The issues of morality, ethics and problems of human existence are the same through the various centuries and it offers insight in the method to overcome torpor, anxiety, insolence, anger and pride, the afflictions of the human psyche.

The author Lavitt must be congratulated on bringing out a fine specimen of translation. The introduction offers an excellent insight into the Tamil literary tradition. The verses are in pleasing fonts that are easy to read while the notes offered at the back of the book are relevant pointers to difficult knots in the verses.

Chennai **Gayatri Ganesan**

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A Marigold of Modern Sanskrit Literature: **by Dr. Sweta Prajapati, pub. by New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 2014, price: Rs. 700/-, pp. x + 287.**

Dr. Sweta Prajapati is a well-known Indologist. Having deep touch in the fields like Manuscriptology, Nyāya Philosophy, Classical Sanskrit Literature and Poetics, she has more than half a dozen books of research spread among modern scholars of Sanskrit. The present volume of Dr. Prajapati is a fine collection of nineteen research papers of highly valued import in three languages - twelve in English, six in Hindi and finally one in Sanskrit.

Almost all the papers provide rare data, useful analysis, insight and accurate information on date, place and life of many related to modern Sanskrit writings. Readers can have a critical glimpse on *Kristubhāgavatam* on the one hand and on *Bhavānībhāratī* on the other. The titles go into a variety of modern Sanskrit writings like children's literature, *Laharī kāvyas,* Radio plays, Sanskrit renderings, Sanskrit biography etc.

The author has dedicated some articles to the creative writings of Mūlaśaṅkara Yājñika, Sri Digambar Mahapatra, Prof. Hari Dutt Sharma and of Pujalal etc. There are many analytical articles that deal with the poetic delight in *Bhavānībhāratī,* problem of the title *Saṁyogitāsvayamvara,* influence of Kālidāsa on *Tavāsmi Dāsaḥ, Stotrasaṁhitā* on Sri Aurobindo and Sri Maa, a literary study on *Sītārāmāñjaneyam,* a *dūta kāvya* in the format of a *mahākāvya* written by Brahmarshi Dhulipal Arkasomayaji, and with the confluence of modernism and spiritualism in *Sudhāsindhormadhye* of Harshdev Madhav etc.

Dr. Prajapati has a sound command over the three languages she uses in the book. She has been fortunate enough to have discovered many valuable but less known books in contemporary Sanskrit writings which she has utilized to the utmost benefits of her readers. The getup of the book is as attractive as is the enchanting title of it. Many good quotations adorn its comforting pages. Prints are flawless. In brief the book is a substantial addition to the world of modern Sanskrit writings.

Visva-Bharati
Shantiniketan

Arun Rajan Mishra

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NEW ARRIVAL

बलाका : Sanskrit translation by Nagendranath Chakrabarty of Tagore's songs from his anthology of the same name, published by Sahitya Akademi, Rabindra Bhavan, 35 Ferozshah Road, New Delhi- 110001, pp 1-64, Price: Rs 80/-

Rabindranath Tagore's ***Balākā*** comprises of a collection of forty five lyric poems. ***Balākā*** literally meaning wild geese, is metaphorically used by the poet for migrating souls. Every poem in this collection suggest motion, cessation of which is a lifeless state. The kind of openness expressed in these compositions mark a unique feature of its kind. Leaving aside all attachments the poet asks to live life to the fullest. There is nothing equal that fills us with a sublime joy.

स्रोतस्तन् मुखरं भूतं तरणी कम्पते शनैः ।
तीरस्थः सञ्चयस्तव तीरे एव त तिष्ठतु ।।
अग्रत एव गच्छ त्वं परावृत्य न पश्य च ।
वाणी त्वामग्रिनी महास्रोतसि नयतु द्रुतम् ।। (poem no.8)

The present book is Sanskrit renderings of these lyrics by Dr. Nagendranath Chakrabarty. He had translated into Sanskrit a number of Tagore's poems of which ***Balākā*** is one of them. Born in Raninagar village in Pabna District presently in Bangladesh, Dr. Chakrabarty joined Vishwabharati in 1936. He was one of the scholars who was engaged in the collation work of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* on the basis of the manuscripts procured at Rabindranath's Shantiniketan under the supervision of Pandit Bidhushekhar Bhattacharya. He had critically edited *Kubjikāmatam* and obtained Ph.D. degree for a unique work on Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā.*

Dr. Chakrabarty's attempt to render the Tagore poems in Sanskrit is a very commendable effort. He has maintained as far as possible the poet's language which enables us capturing the essence of the original lyrics. A verse may be cited here along with the original one -

tumi ki kebali chabi śudhu paṭe likhā
oi ye sudūr nīhārikā ---

अपि त्वम् केवलं चित्रं, केवलं लिखितं पटे ।
असौ नीहारिका यथा दूराद् दूरतरं स्थिता ।। (poem no.6) or,

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mor gān erā sab śaibāler dal,
yethāy janmeche sethā āpanāre kare ni acal ।
mūl nāi, phul āche, śudhu pātā āche,
ālor ānanda niye jaler taraṅge erā nāce ।

गानं सर्वमिदं मम शैवालमिव चञ्चलम् ।
यत्र जातं न तत्रैव स्थाणुवदचलं स्थितम् ।।
अमूले सन्ति पुष्पाणि सन्ति पत्राणि केवलम् ।
आलम्ब्य ज्योतिरानन्दं नृत्यति सलिलोर्मिभिः ।। (poem no.15)

Thus even one who is not acquainted to Bengali, can feel the spirit of the language. The Sanskrit verses are in *Anuṣtup* metre where Dr. Chakrabarty has taken liberty of focusing more on kavi's *bhāva* rather sticking to *chanda's* orthodox character.

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Saswati Sen

***Nāṭyalalitakalāsaṅgraha* (Sanskrit): Edited by Radhavallabh Tripathi, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi (2012), ISBN 978-81-260-3361-4, Price - Rs. 450/-. P. 464 (Hard bound).**

'*Nāṭyalalitakalāsaṅgraha* is an anthology of performing and fine arts, prepared from the *Śāstras* or original Sanskrit texts dealing with these arts' (as author himself explains in 'Prologue'). The concept of the book becomes clear once we go through the 'Prologue' thoroughly. The anthology comprises of selections from original Sanskrit texts on *nāṭya* (theatre), *saṅgīta* (music and musicology), *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* (dance), *citra* (painting and sculpture). Materials from relevant texts like- *Brāhmaṇas, Kāmasūtra, Purāṇas* and works on literary theories has also been drawn (p.12).

The book is divided in five *'Bhāgas'* (parts) with a bibliography *(sandarbhikā)* of the books referred and an Index *(anukramaṇikā)* or terms used in the book at the end. The parts are - *Ādhāraśabdaḥ* (Basic Terms), *Nāṭyam* (Performing Arts), *Saṅgītam* (Music), *Nṛtyam Nṛttam ca* (Dance), *Citramūrtivimarśaḥ* (Painting and Sculpture).

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Chapter I *'Ādhāraśabdaḥ* (Basic Terms)' is very relevant to every Sanskrit researcher as they come across many terms which are common but don't understand the proper meaning i.e. *itihāsa, purāṇa, śilpa,* 64 *kalās, kāma, dik (diśā),* concept of *rasa* in all forms and *bhāva.*

Chapter II *'Nāṭyam* (Performing Arts)' deals with *nāṭya* where one finds all the terms dealing with theatre are compiled. Starting with *nāṭyalakṣaṇa* to *nāṭyasvarūpa, nāndī, nāṭyarasa, bhāva, abhinaya* (all four), *vṛtti, rūpakavicāra, itivṛtta, bhūmikāpkṛtivicāra* (selection and analysis or characters) and thus every element related to *nāṭya* is compiled here.

In III Chapter *'Saṅgītam* (Music)' which is related with music, starts with very basic of *nāda, svara, śruti, grāma, varṇa, jāti, rāga, gīta, mūrchanā, tāna, alaṅkāra, gumuku, dhruvā, gāyaka, śrāvaka, vṛnda, ātodya, tāla, vādya* (all kinds) are compiled.

Chapter IV *'Nṛtyam Nṛttam ca* (Dance)' is a compilation of terms related with *nṛtya* and *nṛtta.*

Last V Chapter *'Citramūrtivimarśaḥ* (Painting and Sculpture)', deals with *citra* (painting) and *pratimā* (sculpture) but mostly with painting. The definition given by different texts about painting, their sizes, kinds (good or bad), tools, colours, canvases, coats *(lepa)* used for are quoted. For sculpture, less has been said as only material, different shapes, female figures are inducted.

The quotations are compiled from 42 different Sanskrit texts. The book is very useful for the music-students because not many printed original Sanskrit Texts on music and dance are always available in libraries.

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Vadodara

Sharmila Bagchi

***Universal Mother: Śrī Lalitāsahasranāma, Translation and Significance,* Volumes I - IV, translated by Dr. Krishna Kota, published by Dr. Sastri Kota, 1532 Kingsgate Drive Sunnyvale, CA 94087, USA, Second Edition, Price: not given.**

The said book is an English translation of Sanskrit text *Śrī Lalitāsahasranāma* in four volumes. *Śrī Lalitāsahasranāma* contains exactly 1000 names of Goddess Lalitā. This text is

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a part of the last among the three sections of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

While translating the *stotra* Dr. Kota has followed a certain manner which she has referred to in the Introduction itself -

- Name of the Goddess in Devanāgarī script
- Its Roman transliteration
- Separation of every syllable
- Literal meaning of each word in the name
- Translation of the particular word
- Significance-of the name, its detail references in other texts and their accounts.

She also explains how these names are arranged in a specific numerical order based on the spiritual knowledge. Even their placements are chosen according to certain mathematical calculation which according to her, has an impact of the sound vibrations on the different parts of the human body.

Dr. Kota has also furnished in details about the other commentaries of the *Lalitāsahasranāma* exist in manuscript or in printed form.

The book is a very resourceful one both for the knower and for the seeker. The later may experience some sort of realization while others may find a new aspect of the *stotras* beyond their memorization and recitation. Inclusion of coloured illustrations of various forms of Śrī Lalitā will help the seekers to meditate upon. This has made the publication attractive too.

Various matters presented in a tabular form are quite appreciable. Whole hearted thanks to Dr. Krishna Kota whose spiritual quest resulted in such a nice publication. She assures the devotees that the immensity of the Supreme will be comprehended and realized in a better way.

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ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणम् - एक समीक्षात्मकमध्ययनम् : A critical study of *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇam* in Sanskrit by Dr. Kaliprasanna Satapathy, published by Sanskrit Sahitya Academy, D-72, Sector- 7,C.D.A,Cuttack-1, 2013, pp. 1-156, price - Rs. 200/-

The above mentioned work is a thesis of Dr. Satapathy for which he was awarded PhD degree in 2006 from the Utkal University, Bhuvaneshwar. The book comprises of nine chapters of which the first one is पुराणप्रवेश. The chapter supplies us with information of the Purāṇa literature in general, its characteristics, its antiquity and its contemporary elements. The second chapter is ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तस्य स्थानम् which contains etymology of the present Purāṇa (विवर्त्तनाद् ब्रह्मणस्तु ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तमुच्यते as quoted in the *Śivapurāṇa),* reference to *Brahmavaivartta* in other Purāṇas, its date, its puranic features, its characteristics and a comparative study of subject matter with other Purāṇa literature. The third chapter गणेशरहस्यम् discusses in details about the development of Gaṇeśa cult in our country - from *anārya* deity to *ārya* god and from Gaṇeśa to elephant faced *mūṣikavāhana* Gajānana. In the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* Gaṇeśa has been depicted as an *avatāra* of Lord Kṛṣṇa. कृष्णरहस्यम् analyses the characters of Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and Kṛṣṇa depicted in the Purāṇas. Correspondingly, in the राधारहस्यम्, character of Rādhā is said to have been created by the composer of Purāṇas (पुराणाकाराणां मानसकन्या राधा भारतीयजनजीवने आत्मसमर्पणधारामाध्यमेन प्रवर्तिता). The sixth chapter deals with आयुर्वेदीयचिकित्सापद्धतिः. The author analyses treatment of traditional physicians like Suśruta, Caraka, Vāgbhaṭṭa and discusses cause of diseases, their treatment, merits of a physician and tradition of *Āyurveda.* He quotes an interesting *śloka* from Swami Ramsukh Das's *Gītādarpaṇaḥ* about root of diseases-

वैद्या वदन्ति कफपित्तमरुद्विकारान्
ज्योतिर्विदो ग्रहगतिं परिवर्त्तयन्ति ।
भूता विशन्तीति भूतविदो वदन्ति
प्रारब्धकर्म बलवन्मुनयो वदन्ति ।

The seventh chapter is on वर्णव्यवस्था which analyses Indian caste system right from the Vedic period to modern social order. The eighth one is about व्रतविधानम् - religious vows and fasts to be observed and their significance. The last one is conclusion (उपसंहारः).

The scholarly effort of Dr. Satapathy is quite commendable. A critical study of the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* is a valuable addition to the corpus of puranic studies.

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पौराणिक इतिहास विमर्श : ed. by Dr. Narasinha Charan Panda, pub. by Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalana Samity, Jalandhar, 2012, pp. 1-208, Price - Rs. 160/-.

The book is a selection of articles on Purāṇa contributed in Hindi (19), English (7) and Sanskrit (1) by twenty eight eminent scholars from India and abroad. At the very outset, we appreciate Dr. Panda for such a scholarly approach. For the purpose of our discussion the papers presented here may be divided in two sections - Purāṇa in general and individual Purāṇa. In the first section there are eleven articles. Dr. Thakur Prasad Varma, in his पौराणिक इतिहास का वैज्ञानिक आधार, has tried to establish Puranic literature as the foundation of various sciences like Geology, Geography, Astrology, Orogeny, origin of universe and thereafter life on earth. He believes that an analytic study of the Purāṇas can constitute the history of world civilization. Prof. Damodar Jha (ऐतिहासिक शोध के लिये पुराणों में कालगणना के सिद्धान्त का महत्त्व) analyses importance of time *(kāla)* in the Purāṇas. The articles by Dr. L. P. Upadhyay (पुराणों की वेदमूलकता), Prof Krishnamurari Sharma (पौराणिक सन्दर्भ में भारतीय इतिहास-बोध), Prof. Shrikrishna Sharma (पौराणिक साहित्य में वायुमार्गनिरूपण), Prof Kanaihalal Parashar (पौराणिक आयु-विचार), Swami Kashmirananda Giri (पुराण-महिमा), Dr. Ritu Bala पुराणों में विश्वामित्र), Sushree Anuradha (पुराणों में अर्थ का महत्त्व) and Dr. Krishnamohan Pandey (पुराणामैतिह्यं महत्त्वञ्च) focus on various aspects of puranic literature which is extremely rich in knowledge and wisdom. Prof R. K. Parashar, in his "Factuality and Fictionality of *Purāṇāntargata Itihāsa*" states that history is a social science which is subject to variations with a view to different ethnic groups of different cultural regions while mythology contains the real history of mankind. He further says that factuality and fiction are interwoven in the *purāṇetihāsa* which present an integral account of world and humanity. Mrs. Malti Auckle (Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Mauritius) informs us that in Mauritius, where Hindu population is in majority, recounting of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Śivapurāṇa* and *Devīpurāṇa* is a must during vacations because this is the only way for edification.

Second Section: Seven articles on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* by Prof. Rajeshwar Mishra, Prof. Vasant Bhatt, Dr. Kamdev Jha, Dr. Manish Kaushal, Dr. Sachidananda Mohapatra, Dr. Sudhansu Sarangi and Prof Devendranath Pandya, enumerate the following aspects of the said Purāṇa specifying the a) significance of Sūrya (physical, divine and spiritual), b) to what extent importance of the Vedic gods is lost in the puranic literature, c) legend of Gokarṇa d) path of righteousness, e) human values, f) time sequence and g) Vedic ideology.

Prof Mansukh Molia makes a significant study of the legend of Rāma in the *Padmapurāṇa* where he indicates a new character Lakṣminidhi (Sītā's brother) introduced in the *Pātāla khaṇḍa*. Here he states that by introducing this character the composer of *Padmapurāṇa* has tried to hold the grievance against Rāma for deporting Sītā.

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Two articles on *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* by Prof Prabhatsinh Thakur and Prof Satyanarayan Chakraborty elucidate the duties of men and women and record some historical events of muslim rulers like Taimurlang and Mughal emperors.

Prof. Vrajesh Shukla explains the implication of *Cintāmaṇi gṛha* as depicted in the *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa* with a comparison with *Saundaryalaharī, Lalitāsahasranāma* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Dr. Kartarchanda Sharma's paper on *Nīlamatapurāṇa* gives an outline of historical and geographical data of Kashmir. The concept of environment in the *Śivapurāṇa* by Dr. Aruna Shukla gives us an idea about conservation of nature depicted there. Dr. Chittaranjan Dayal Singh Kaushal discusses the teachings in the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, the text is specially known for depicting life after the death.

Late Prof. M. L. Wadekar and Prof. Krishna Saini both contributed article on *Ayodhyāmāhātmya*. The text is a part of *Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*. Prof. Saini gives an explanatory account of Ayodhya as a holy place whereas Prof. Wadekar discusses in detail how a dated manuscript of *Ayodhyāmāhātmya* (acc. no. 8161 dated 1656 A.D.) deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda proceeded as an evidence that helped in the verdict regarding the problem of *rāma-janmabhūmi*.

The editor deserves our sincere congratulations for bringing these research papers of prominent scholars which will definitely explore the truth behind the mythic literature.

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'Hāsyam Sudhyupāsyam' (Sanskrit) by Dr. Prashasya Mitra Shastri, Akshayavata Prakashan, 26, Balarampur House, Allahabad-211 002, 2013 (First Edition), ISBN 978-93-80634-07-4. pp.1-192, Price : Rs. 300/- (hard-cover).

'Hāsyam Sudhyupāsyam' a Sanskrit work by Dr. Prashasya Mitra Shastri is a collection of poems those have humor as a main sentiment. The title itself is suggestive of its subject matter-the laughter be revered by the intellectuals. In the modern era, the authors have tried their hand on humorous or satiric compositions which is considered as an independent type

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of literature. We also find some pieces of humorous writing in form of jokes, short stories, *muktakas* and some funny real life incidents those are invariable printed in periodicals.

Dr. Prashasya Mitra Shastri is renowned author from Raibareli, whose published works include on varied subjects like *'Abhinava Sanskṛta Gītamālā'*, *'Ācārya Mahīdhara Evam Svāmī Dayānanda kā Mādhyandina Bhāṣya'*, *'Anāghrātam* (Collection of stories) and many more. His humorous and satire works include *'Hāsavilāsa'* (poetry). *Saṅskṛtavyaṅgyavilāsa* (the first ever sarcastic essays in Sanskrit) and *'Komalakaṇṭakāvali'* (poetry).

'Hāsyam Sudhyupāsyam'-a collection of poems with Hindi translation given on the same page for the readers who are not well versed with the Sanskrit language or who do not know the language at all, makes it a reader friendly work. The cover page has a picture of laughing masks that indicates its subject matter too. The foreword of the book is written by renowned Sanskrit scholar Dr. Abhiraja Rajendra Mishra titled as *'Nāndīvāk'*.

The book has three satiric benediction poems followed by seven sections on different topics like *Rājanīti* (polity). *Vidyārthī* (student), *Premikā* (lover). *Dāmpatya* (married life). *Pitā-putra* (father and son), *Vaividhya* (diverse topics) and *Abhinavopasaṁhāra* (new assemblage). Each section has number of poems titled on various subjects those are perfectly confined to the main title. The verses of the poem are mainly in *Anuṣtup* meter but changes at the end of each section. The Hindi translation maintains poetic flow and beauty. Having used the simple language, the author has successfully employed the various devices like *śleṣa, arthachala, śabdachala* at certain places to provoke humor.

In the benediction poems, the author seeks blessings from Kālidāsa, the member of parliaments and India's Independence Day. Unlike the other benediction verses appear in the Sanskrit literary tradition, the blessings are sought in unusual way in this book. These three poems draw attention towards the current national issues sarcastically. The author attacks the politicians who are responsible for country's deteriorating state and their inability to resolve the serious issues. The first poem, titled as *'Viṭapasthakālidāsebhyo Namaḥ'* has a *śleṣa* in the word Kālidāsa. One meaning of Kālidāsa is taken as the servant of black deeds who stay on the branches of the tree of corruption and the other meaning speaks about the scholar Kālidāsa.

In the poetry section, the author, introduces two characters Devadatta and Yajñadatta occasionally to maintain dialogue continuity. The first section *Rājanīti* deals with the sub topics like corruption, the misconduct of the members of Lower House and their criminal involvements etc. has sarcasm in its root that presents humor. In *Vidyārthi-Prakaraṇa*, the author narrates a student's adolescent state that is flickered at the sight of young girls, the

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notorious friends etc. that creates light mirth. The *Premikā Prakaraṇa* has the dialogues between lovers in witty way. There is total absence of vulgarity yet the poems are delightful. The *Dāmpatya Prakaraṇa* presents a picture of quarrelsome, suspicious, the proude and chattering wife. The *Pitā- Putrādi Prakaraṇa* is nothing but a cautious father who wants to protect his children going out of the way; conversation between grandfather and grandsons etc. is delightful. The *'Vaividhya Prakaraṇa'* has dialogues between nurse-patient, doctor-patient, etc. as its subject matter. The last *Abhinavopasaṁhāra Prakaraṇa* delineates modern *kārikās* on *rasa* theory in which author believes that a woman is capable of generating all nine *rasas* and he gives due hilarious illustrations for each *rasa*. The reader can relish the same with wholeheartedly. The modern *Satyanārāyaṇakathā* told by the author for a woman whose foreign return husband is caught by the custom officer and the god *Satyanārāyaṇa* appears and advices her to get rid of the calamity is a witty reminder of the traditional *kathā* tellers.

Thus, this meritorious book has collection of numerous short poems on different subjects yet the flow is uninterrupted. The day to day affairs and facts of life are woven with brilliant sense of humor. The poet has grip over language, the arrangements of words and *śleṣa* that generates natural, pure, light and harmless humor. There is a restraint in the narration that does not cross any ethical boundaries. The language is very simple and cognizable, free from *Sandhis* and *Samasas* are separated with a line in between. Sometimes *rūpakas* are employed to enhance the beauty of the poem. The modernity in the composition is visible as, for certain Sanskrit words author gives the English words written in *Devanāgarī* in bracket to convey the exact expression e.g. *'agresaram*-(forward) in the sense of forwarding messages on mobile (p.48) etc. Some English words are written in *Devanāgarī* e.g. Pension (p.56). Endoscopy (p. 184) etc. The regional words like *'Are'! 'Aho':* are also employed at certain places that gives the exact exclamations. The slight modification in the language is attempted by the author for laughter as he addresses Devadatta's wife as Devadattā (P.110). To summarize, the work is a deep study of human psychology presented in a humorous way. It is worth reading for the people who crave for humorous literature in Sanskrit.

Mumbai **Vandana Lele**

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पण्डित ईश्वरकौलकृत - कश्मीरशब्दामृतम् : अनुवाद और व्याख्या (Hindi) by Sushila Sar, Ayan Prakashan, New Delhi (2014), ISBN 978-81-7408-669-3, Price - Rs. 145/-, pp. 503.

The original text of the work was first published (by same name) by Asiatic Society, Calcutta in 1898, edited by George Grierson, with the help of a Kashmiri grammarian Pandita Mukundarama Sastri. In this book, the original printed text and its explanation (by author Isvara Kaul) is printed as it is. Hindi translation of the Sanskrit *sūtras* and explanation is followed by Hindi explanation by Sushila Sar.

The time or Pandit Isvara Kaul is quoted by Grierson is July 4th, 1833 A.D.- 29th August 1893 A.D. He hailed from Jammu and worked under the patronage of Maharaja Ranvir Simha of Kashmir.

'The present book is a grammar of the Kashmiri language written in Sanskrit, on the model of ordinary Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa grantha*. Kashmiri is a language which is very little known, but which is of great importance for the purpose of comparative philology....The phase of the language which is illustrated by him is that spoken by Hindus of the city of Srinagar. ...It is the language of the educated ruling class, and its contamination with Persian has been prevented by a wholesome tradition, which had no hold on the Muhammadan inhabitant. It is hence the purest form of the tongue ...' (Preface of the original book by George Grierson. P. 17).

This book contains *Sandhi prakaraṇa, Liṅga prakaraṇa, Samāsa prakriyā, Taddhita prakriyā, Avyaya prakriyā, Striprakaraṇa prakriyā, Ākhyāta prakriyā, Kṛdanta prakriyā* of Kashmiri *Śabdaśāstra* (as Isvar Kaul himself calls it).

Oriental Institute,
Vadodara

Sharmila Bagchi

देवराजशर्मप्रणीतम् अनिरुद्धचम्पूकाव्यम् (Sanskrit), edited by Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi 'Vagisa Sastri, Vagyogachetnapitham, Shivala, Varanasi (2010), ISBN :81-85570-34-5, Price: Rs. 173/-, pp. 288.

The text of *Aniruddhacampūkāvya* of Devarājaśarma is edited by Prof. B.P.T. Vagish Shastri. The manuscript was deposited in Sarasvati Bhavan Library of Sampurnanand Sanskrit

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University, Varanasi. The author Devarājaśarma (said to be contemporary of Guru Govind Singh - the tenth Guru of Sikhs) and Editor Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi - both belong to Varanasi.

Based on famous Usha-Aniruddha's love story, the text or the *Campū,* is divided in nine *ucchvās'* (chapters) with each one having titles to explain about the story described in that chapter. The book includes four appendices in the end where *Subhāṣitāni* (quotations). *Pāṭhabhdanidarśanam* (Varients but it should be Editions/Corrections). *Ślokapādānukramaṇikā* (Index of *Ślokas* of the text) and a list of Editors (Dr. B.P.Tripathi's) books.

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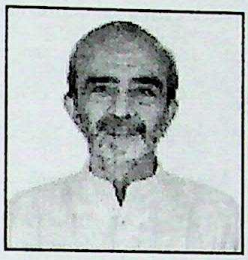
OBITUARY



Prof. Rajendra Nanavati

A LOSS IRREPARABLE

The news of sudden demise of Rajendra Nanavati came to me as an unbelievable shock. He has been one of the most trusted friends. In fact his unexpected departure for heavenly abode is a tremendous loss for Sanskrit learning and lovers of Sanskrit.

The memories of the celebration at Harish Bhai Jhaveri's place in Gurgaon where I went to meet Rajendrabhai, have flooded my mind as I write this piece. We were together on the last birth day of Harish Jhaveri at his sprawling magnificent residence in Gurgaon. Dipti Tripathi had also joined. Harish Bhai had been ailing for some time and had just recovered from a fatal disease. Members of his family wanted to celebrate his birth day as a grand occasion. Rajendra Bhai proposed to show me the library in the basement. I was amazed to see the richness of the collection of very rare volumes. I could now comprehend the enormity of the bond which drew Rajendra Nanavati and Harish Jhaveri to each other. I spent some time with Rajendra Bhai in the library.

On 30.12.2015 Rajendrabhai sent me a rare photo of the event. What a pity that I again visited that house when Harishbhai had passed away and Rajendrabhai had come there for condolence. He was known as *Kākā* in the family, the daughter-in-law and the sons of Harishbhai were all eager to attend him, yet he agreed to my proposal to come to my house and stay. That was the last night we spent together under one roof.

I could understand the way he was admired by his friends and he became a part of their life.

On 15th July he had telephoned me to give details of the *pravacanakāras* on *Rāmāyaṇa*. This was in connection with some award given by Morari Bapu. I had send him the required detail on 16th July.

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I saw him for the first time at Ujjain around 1974-75. He was presenting his paper. To my memory the paper was on 'The delayed entry of Mālavikā in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitraṃ*.' I was impressed by his analysis of the text as well his insight. On another occasion, I again saw him at Ujjain. He had come with his mother. I could not see his mother, but heard him saying that by availing the opportunity of attending the *Kālidāsa Samāroha*, he also wanted to serve his mother by arranging the '*Mahākāladarśana* for her.' There was some problem in arranging the lodging for his mother as the accommodation was meant for the participants of the *Samāroha*. I again heard him telling the organizer that he would like to pay for his mother's stay.

I do not remember when the ice broke and we started talking to each other. This off course happened gradually. We came into contact with each other time and again in seminars and conferences in India and abroad. Rajendrabhai came to Sagar to deliver lectures in the department of Sanskrit at my invitation. He always was a renowned resource person in the seminars organized by me at Sagar. He visited my house at Sagar, I stayed at his house in Vadodara. We shared secrets and experiences as well as our future plans for research and studies. This was an elucidation of friendship as defined by Pūrṇasarasvatī -

दर्शितानि कलत्राणि गेहे भुक्तमशङ्कितम् ।
कथितानि रहस्यानि सौहार्दं किमतः परम् ।।

I have been referring to his works - *Essays on Sanskrit Poetics, Secondary Tales of Two great Epics* and even to his monograph in Gujarati on Kuntaka. In my works on literary theory, I have also referred to his view of *Rasa*.

He used to talk about the works of his *gurus* and great scholars who have been his mentors. He also repaid the *guru-ṛṇa* with due gratitude in the form of felicitation volumes, anthologies of collected writings etc. He encouraged young scholars and his students and took keen interest in their progress. *Marīcikā*, the collection of his Sanskrit poems reveals him as a sensitive poet gifted with a modern sensibility. It was awarded by Sankrit Sahitya Academy. *Padāntare* brings out his insights in the understanding of literary traditions in Sanskrit.

His researches on Epics and Purāṇas as well as on Kālidāsa and *Alaṅkāraśāstra* have provided new insights to us who have been working in these fields.

He knew how to redeem friendship and maintain trust. He would take pains to help his friends. During September-October 2013, he was in London with his daughter and Son-in-

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law. He went to see the manuscripts in the British Library. He talked to me for a long time to give the details of the manuscripts he planned to get from there and then asked me whether I needed copies of any manuscripts. He could make available to me the copy of the manuscript of *Nāṭyapradīpa,* which I had been trying to acquire since long.

I have been away between March to July this year for a trip to USA and UK, and contacted him by e-mail when I needed his help in a personal matter. I was worried when I did not receive a response for quite a few days. This was unlike Rajendrabhai. Then I phoned him. Phone was picked by Lataji and was handed over to him. He was delighted and talked for long. In a very casual way he informed me that he could not see the mail as he is admitted in the hospital. This led me to worry. 'This is the same ailment which the great movie star so-and-so ... also suffers from' - he said and laughed. I also said that he will ask Esha to give him hard copies of the documents sent by me, go through them and do the needful. I told him to forget about my work and take care of his health. After a few days he called me from home. We discussed many things - about my project and his. He assured me that there is nothing to worry, he has already recovered.

I came back to India and then learnt that he was again hospitalised. I talked to Mrs. Nanavati, and was informed that he is in ICU, but will be relieved very soon. I was planning to visit Vadodara to see him. Reservations were not available. Then on the morning of 9th August, the sad news of his having left us for ever was conveyed to me by Dr. Sweta Prajapati.

I knew that Rajendrabhai had passed through several ordeals and struggles in life and had always emerged with renewed energy. I was confident that he will pass through this period of crisis and will recover completely from his illness.

It is extremely difficult to exactly assess on how many projects Rajendrabhai was working on till the last moment of his life. I am aware of only two or three of them with which I have certain connection. He was editing complete works of Pandita Kṣama Devi Rao - as an assignment from the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. To my understanding the project was nearing completion. I had been instrumental to making available the copies of the works of Pandita Kṣama Devi Rao to him. He had prepared the volume and the last time we talked about this project, he told me that he is now to write an introduction to the volume for which he intends to take help from the monograph on Pandita Kṣama Devi Rao by me recently published by the Sahitya Akademi itself. Having published his edition of collected plays by

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Mool Shankar Maniklal Yajnik from the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, he had already embarked upon the project of bringing out the Complete Works of Mahamahopadhyaya Shankarlal Maheshwar, which was a gigantic task.

Rajendrabhai was born on 4.05.1939 at Surat. He spent the prime of his life at Mumbai and studied at Saint Zavier's College there. He was a brilliant student and earned laurels and medals for his achievements in graduation and post-graduation. His aptitude for learning languages led him to join courses German, Bengali and Hindi. He initially served as lecturer in Sanskrit in two of the colleges in Gujarat - MTB Arts College at Surat (1965-1982) and Arts and Science College at Bardoli (1963-65). This period of his life also marks the emergence of a budding young scholar in Sanskrit Studies. He had already established his credentials, and it could be undisputedly said that the right place for a promising scholar gifted with a potential and vision like him was a university of national repute. The opportunity of working in a prestigious seat of learning duly came to him, albeit a bit late. He joined the Sanskrit department of the M.S. University, Vadodara in 1982 as Reader. He also served as the head of this department for six years (1988-1994). He became a University professor in 1994 and served as the Director of the Oriental Institute of the M.S. University for years. After his retirement from the University service, he was offered the emeritus fellowship and during the two years of his term under this fellowship (2007-09) produced a new critical edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chapters I-VI). He also worked as a Shastrachudamani scholar at the Vadodara Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya under the scheme of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan. He remained very actively involved in various programmes for the development of Sanskrit and Indological Studies with UGC, NMM and other bodies. A man of versatile nature devoted to social cause, he was actively involved in with a number of voluntary organizations.

He was convener of various sections in 15th and 16th WSCs held at New Delhi and Bangkok. He had proved his extra-ordinary skill for organizing an event of international level when he was working as the local secretary for the 39th session of the AIOC held at Vadodara in 1998. He was elected sectional president of Pali & Buddhism, Classical Sanskrit Literature and several other sections in the AIOC. He also served in the executive council of the AIOC. His knowledge of diverse subjects made him a man of unique distinctions - besides his expertise in Sanskrit Poetics and classical Sanskrit literature, he is known for his researches on Epics and Purāṇas, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Manuscriptology, Veda and Vedānta. With his understanding of modern literature in various languages, he could establish dialogue with writers in vernaculars and authors in Modern Indian languages.

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He talked of big issues, dreamt of big things. Lately he had been thinking to bring out a literary journal in Sanskrit. The idea did not materialize the way he had envisaged it. He discussed many such ideas and plans with me a number of times.

When I assumed the editorship of 'Sanskrit Pratibha', a quarterly published by the Sahitya Akademi, I contacted him to contribute for the journal. I also let him know that I am particularly interested in bringing out Sanskrit translations from contemporary Gujarati literature. He contributed Sanskrit translations from the poems by Gujarati poets like Chinu Modi and Rajendra Shah. He was planning to publish the long poem of epic proportions by Chinu Modi translated by him in book form also.

He was not only a great scholar and a Sanskrit poet gifted with modern sensibility. He was also a magnanimous person-always ready to help and oblige. During my association with him for the past forty years, he had in fact become an elder brother for me and many of his juniors like me. His friendship has remained a great solace.

He was equally loved and respected by scholars of Sanskrit and critics as well as poets and authors in Gujarati. He would go out of the way to treat his beloved ones. I could understand the way he was admired by his friends and he became a part of their life.

It was he who introduced me to two laureates - Sitanshu Yashshchandra and Ganesh Devi - both Sahitya Akademi Award winners. He told me 'you are Sahitya Akademi Awardee. So you should meet another Akademi Awardee from our place'. He took me to the residence of Devi. I used to marvel at his capacity of maintaining and sustaining cordial relationships with scholars, philanthropists and patrons of Sanskrit.

The quantum of work that he could do is enormous. Many of his works bring out the concern for repaying the debt of his elders and teachers *(guru-ṛṇa).* He collected and edited the writings of his teacher Prof G.C. Jhala in four volumes, edited the volume in honor of Prof. S.G, Kantawala, He also presented the excellent garland of 108 Vedic *Mantras* in a volume with English translation in dedication to the revered *guru* Swami Gangeshwaranand. His edition of 'Soma Hymns of the *Ṛgveda'* a work by S.S. Bhawe, is equally noteworthy. On the other hand he had been constantly working on a number of important projects. Editing the works of Āśādharabhaṭṭa - an important *ācārya* of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* was one such project. His edition of a rare illustrated manuscript of *Saundaryalaharī* with translation in four languages - Gujarati, English, Hindi and Marathi, is his monumental contribution. In fact it was a dream he had been cherishing for several years. I have been painfully aware of the efforts he had to

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make to retrieve the manuscript, to convince the University authorities the value of the publication and finally to see it out in a most prestigious volume.

It is difficult to say how much the world of Sanskritists owes to Rajendra Nanavati. Will the efforts of all of us suffice to pay the debt of a man who himself was so keen on repaying the debt of his elders and teachers? His departure from this mortal world has created a big chasm impossible to bridge and has caused an irreparable loss to all of us and to Sanskrit scholarship.

Radhavallabh Tripathi

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2015 - 2016)

Digitization Work: Preparation for second phase of National Manuscript Mission's Digitization Project is yet to start. The Institute on its own has digitized 70 manuscripts this year, which are supplied to 34 scholars. Not only manuscripts but demand for printed books' copies from Oriental's Library is equally made by scholars. They include students, scholars or just readers who visited the Library in person, requested for the digitized copy of a book. Many people from all over India and abroad have asked for the copies of the books (GOS or our Gujarati publications) or old articles from Journal of Oriental Institute.

Publications: This year Vol. 63 & 64 of Journal of Oriental Institute (JOI) and 51st Vol. of Svadhyaya are printed and circulated. Preparations of 65th Vol. (collecting articles, sending them to experts etc.) were carried on and its Press-copies are sent to Press for printing. The fifth volume of Manuscript's Catalogue is also under print. First proof of the Volume has been checked. With the publication of this Catalogue, all the manuscripts of the Institute (30,299) will be known to the scholars of the world.

Mahabharatna gudha rahasyo - a Gujarati translation by Smt. Vijaya Lele of the Marathi book '*Mahabharatatil gudha rahasye*' by G.V. Kavishwar (as Sayaji Sahityamala Series Publication), is under print. In the Critical Edition Wing, the preparation of Critical Text and Critical Apparatus of *Vāyupurāṇa* is in progress. The third Vol. of *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* is in final stage of printing.

Seminars & Workshops : This year, the Institute organized a one day UGC sponsored National Seminar on **'Historical Writings in Indian Languages'** on 11th February 2016. Prof. Kedar Narayan Joshi, Former Head, School of Studies in Sanskrit, Vikram University, Ujjain (MP) delivered the key-note address. Dr. Shriram Parihar from Khandva was Guest of Honour, The other speakers were invited from different fields of Indian Languages, Literature, History, Archaeology like Dr. Shiv Prasad Shukla, Dr. Jetho Lalwani, Dr. Hemant Dave and others.

This year, the Institute has organized two meaningful workshops under Extra Mural Scheme. The first one was a day long lecture on Sanskrit Grammar. It was held on 27.10.15 where in first half, Shri Yogesh Ojha - Former Principal of Baroda Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, addressed *Parasmaipadī Dhātus* and in second half -Prof Kamlesh Choksi from Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, taught *Kārakas*. 100 students participated in the Workshop.

The Second Workshop was organized on Scripts. A three day long Workshop from 11th

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January to 13th January 2015 was organised where *Śārāda* and *Grantha* scripts were taught to 60 participants from Vadodara and nearby places. Dr. Dharmendra Bhatt from Ahmedabad, taught *Śārāda* script while Mrs. Vandana Lele from Mumbai, taught *Grantha* script.

Exhibition: Applauding the Heritage Treasure of India in Heritage week (19.11.15 - 25.11.15) celebrated all over India. Oriental Institute arranged an exhibition '**Pothina Paan**' from 20.11.15 to 25.11.15, displaying its heritage wealth i.e. colourful illustrated manuscripts, art objects, scrolls, manuscripts of different subjects, materials etc. 81 people visited the exhibition, notable point was, many people took keen interest in Persian and Arabic manuscripts.

Lectures: This year, the Institute organized Two Important **Lectures**. The first one '**Tattvabodh Lecture**' was exclusive in many ways, as it was organized with National Mission for Manuscripts, Delhi for the first time in Vadodara on 28.10.15. Prof Arkanath Chaudhary, Vice-Chancellor of Shri Somnath Sanskrit University was invited to deliver two lectures on 1. वरदराजकृत मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी की प्रथम संस्कृत व्याख्या 2. मध्यमनोरमा की समीक्षित आवृत्ति एवं वैशिष्ट्य.

The second lecture series was our regular annual **Late Dr. U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series** (15th event) which was held on 29.1.16 at Oriental Institute. This year Prof. Michel Danino from Indian Institute of Technology, Gandhinagar (Guj), delivered two lectures on - **1.The Riddle of the Sarasvati's Disappearence** and **2. Sarasvati, Indus Civilization and the Aryan Issue.**

Visiting other Manuscript - Libraries: This year, one visit was conducted by Institute's Research Officers to Udaipur (Rajasthan) where they visited two Institutes - Rajasthan Prachya Vidya Pratisthan and Pratap Shodh Sansthan and brought copies of five manuscripts.

Visitors at Oriental Institute: Oriental Institute is known to Sanskrit scholars all over the world for its manuscript-collection. The scholars from far and near visit the Institute in search of Manuscripts' copies. Often people other than scholars, students of schools and colleges also visit the Institute to have a look at our glorious past.

This year 39 visiting entries are registered in the Institute. Four people from Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad on 17.4.15; 5 persons from Swaminarayan sect form Ahmedabad on 1.8.15; 7 persons from Sanskrit Sambhasana class on7.8.15; 3 monks from Ramakrishna Mission, Champawat (Uttarakhand) on 12.8.15; 15 students + 3 teachers from Avanti Gurukul (ISCON) on 2.9.15; 3 persons from Deccan College, Pune on 6.1.16; 42 students and 3 teachers from Sanskrit Bhavan, Saurashtra University, Rajkot; 25 students & 3 teachers from N.S. Patel Arts College on 22.2.16; 14 students & 3 teachers from University of Lausanne, Switzerland on 25.2.16, visited our Institute. Some noteworthies are:

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S.N.	Name	Place of the visiting person/s	Date	Purpose of the visit
1.	I.C.Matieda	Gandhi Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad	17.4.15	To see the scanning work & Institute
2.	Darry Dinnell	McGill University	22.4.15	Explore about Institutional affiliation
3.	Kate Kragh	Ghent University, Belgium	15.6.15	To see the Institute
4.	Prof Ulrich . Timme Kragh	Denmark	15.6.15	To see its ongoing research work and manuscript collection
5.	Elizabeth Rohlman	Dept. of Classics & Religion, University of Calgary, Canada	19.6.15	To consult catalogues & search manuscripts
6.	Sanjeev Joshi	Convener, INTACH, Vadodara	23.6.25	To see the Institute
7.	Nirav Hirpara	School of Architecture, Vadodara Design Academy, Vadodara	4.7.15	To understand Institute & its purview in research publications.
8.	Swami Narsimhananda	Advait Ashram, P.O.Mayavati, Dist. Champawat (Uttarakhand)-262524	12.8.15	To see Institute
9.	Ashutosh Bhatnagar	Pravasi Bhavan, 50, D.D.U. Marg, New Delhi-2	7.10.15	To see Institute
10.	Ms. Avantika Singh,IAS	Collector, Vadodara	10.10.15	To see Institute
11.	Soumoni De	10, Swami Vivekanand Road, Howra-I (WB)	3.12.15	To refer manuscripts
12.	Prof. Arknath Chaudhari	Shri Somnath Sanskrit University, Veraval	28.12.15	To deliver lecture for Tattvabodh Series
13.	Sho Hirose	Divot University, Paris	29.1.16	Investigating manuscripts (on Jyotish)

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Dr. Sweta Prajapati

Signature of Publisher

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